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ON A SYRIAC Ms. OF THE NEW TESTAMENT BELONGING TO THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, AND ON AN INEDITED VERSION OF THE APOCALYPSE THEREIN CONTAINED. BY THE REV. JOHN GWYNN, D.D., D.C.L.

PLATE XXI.

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X.

ON A SYRIAC Ms. OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE LIBRARY OF THE EARL OF CRAWFORD, AND AN INEDITED VERSION OF THE APOCALYPSE INCLUDED IN IT. By REV. JOHN GWYNN, D.D.

(Plate XXI.)

[Read January 23, 1888.]*

In a Paper read by me before the Academy in May, 1886, and printed in its *Transactions*† (vol. xxvii., pp. 269–316), I had the satisfaction of announcing that a long-missing Syriac New Testament manuscript of Archbishop Ussher's collection was not, as had been supposed, lost, but is identical with the manuscript classed B. 5. 16 in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. This discovery was, however, in some measure a disappointment, inasmuch as it brought to light the fact that (as shown in that Paper) the Ms., far from being as had been supposed a New Testament complete in all its Books, included, as Ussher and his correspondents had described it as including, only so much of the New Testament as the Peshitto excludes—namely, the Four Minor Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse, and the section of St. John's Gospel known as the *Pericope de Adultera.*

In the present Paper, I am happily able to offer a more than adequate compensation for that disappointment, by giving some account of a Ms.—one much older than Ussher's—with which I have since that time become acquainted; which (so far as I know) has never been described or made generally known to Biblical scholars; and which is, what Ussher's Ms. had erroneously been supposed to be, a New Testament in Syriac not only containing the entire Peshitto version, but also supplementing it by the addition of *all* the other Books commonly received as canonical. This Ms.,

* Since this Paper was read, considerable additions—the results of further investigations and of information obtained—have been made. October, 1893.

† *On a Syriac Ms. in the Collection of Archbishop Ussher.*

moreover, not merely stands alone among the Mss. which have reached us from the East, in exhibiting the Apocalypse (as well as the Four Epistles) as an integral part of the New Testament, but assigns to it a place of conspicuous honour, and (as I shall proceed to show at large) exhibits it in such a form as to constitute an important accession to the not very abundant materials hitherto available for the textual criticism of that Book.

For my knowledge of the existence of this remarkable Ms., I am indebted to the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, B. D., Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, the editor of the forthcoming Revised Text of the Peshitto Gospels which is about to be issued from the Clarendon Press. In reading my account of the Ussher Ms. above referred to, he had observed a note (to p. 274) in which I had stated that no Ms. of the entire New Testament in Syriac was known to exist. In correction of this statement he was so good as to write, in December, 1886, and inform me that among the Syriac New Testament Mss. which he was engaged in collating for the purposes of his work, there was one, the property of the Earl of Crawford, which exhibited all the Canonical Books without any exception. In the following year, on his kind invitation, I visited him and inspected the Ms. With his consent—indeed, at his suggestion—I made application to Lord Crawford, and obtained his permission, granted with a ready generosity which I desire to acknowledge with cordial thanks, to bring the Ms. home with me for more minute examination, of which I now proceed to detail the results.

The Ms. in its present state consists of 249 leaves of strong vellum, measuring $10\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The general arrangement of the sheets is in quinions (quires, or gatherings, of five sheets, making ten leaves). Of these quires there are 24, making 240 leaves; but of these leaves three are lost. There is, over and above these, an odd leaf at the end—the half, apparently, of a single concluding sheet of which the former leaf is also lost. Thus the original number of leaves must have been 242, of which four are wanting, and 238 remain; and the above total of 249 is made up by eleven leaves inserted into the middle of the book, to which I shall return presently. Of the missing leaves, one is the first of the first quire, which contained the opening verses of St. Matthew; so that the Ms. now begins

abruptly with ܐܒܝܘܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܙܪܘܒܒܠ ("Zorobabel begat Abiud"), St. Matth. i. 13. The latter part of the Ms., in which the Pauline Epistles stand last, has suffered more severely. The first leaf of the last quire has disappeared, leaving a gap from Titus i. 15 to the end of that Epistle; and likewise the last leaf of the quire with it, causing the Epistle to the Hebrews, with which the Ms. closes, to break off in xi. 28, with the words ܗܘܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܝܡܐ. The remainder of that Epistle, however, could not (as I find by measurement) have been contained in one leaf: I infer therefore that it ran on into another lost leaf,—the first of the final extra sheet of which, as above stated, only the latter half survives. This last appears to have been always, as it now is, the closing leaf: it contains on its *recto* side a summary of the contents of the Ms.; and on its *verso*, a long concluding note, now much defaced; both of which I shall describe in due course. In the second quire one leaf, and one in the fourteenth, have suffered serious mutilation; and two more leaves of the fourteenth have been similarly but less seriously injured. But with the exception of these, and the four lost leaves, the Ms. is in admirable preservation, and is as legible as when it was first written; save that here and there the action of damp has caused the heavily-chalked surface to come away in flakes, thus occasioning the disappearance, in part or whole, of a few words;—but in very few instances without sufficient traces left to enable the reader to recover them. Each page of the text exhibits its contents arranged in two columns; but the supplementary matter contained in the last leaf is written across the full width of the pages. Except in the last page the character is estrangelo, written with admirable firmness and regularity, in the formal manner of a professional scribe. It is, however, by no means of the oldest type of this mode of writing, but exhibits the later forms of many letters, especially of *dolath*, *he*, and *rish*.* The last page is written in a cursive

* See the accompanying autotype Plate (XXI.), which reproduces two columns of the Ms., the second of fo. 124 [113] *r°*, and the second of fo. 134 [123] *r°*. The damage done by damp is observable in the lower part of the latter, and in the upper part of both. Here, and throughout this Paper, I give the numbering of the folios as they are actually marked in the Ms. (in pencil, by a recent hand)—subjoining [in square brackets] the corrected number, allowing for lost and inserted leaves as above specified.

character, but to all appearance of the same age and by the same hand as the body of the book; and it is noteworthy that throughout the Ms. the letter *olaph* frequently, and sometimes also *tau*, especially near the end of a word, tend to pass from the estrangelo into the cursive form, where the scribe is trying to economize space towards the close of a line. Now and then he has also interlined a word in the cursive character. The vocalization is very sparingly indicated, by the usual points, occasionally applied. The Greek or Jacobite vowels are here and there inserted, but mostly in case of words adopted from the Greek or otherwise exceptional,—as far as I can judge, *prima manu.**

The Gospels, as usual, stand first in the Ms., arranged in their familiar order, each having a brief subscription attached to it, followed by the equally brief heading of the next Book, no break beyond a blank space of an inch or two being made to mark the interval. They are of the Peshitto version, as are all the Books that follow, so far as that version extends. I have made no examination of their text, knowing that the collation of it is in the hands of a scholar so competent as Mr. Gwilliam. I have only to note that the *Pericope de Adultera* is not included in, or appended to, the Fourth, or any of the Gospels in this Ms.

But now comes the feature which distinguishes our Ms. from all others hitherto known to us. Immediately after the Gospels, beginning in the same column as that in which St. John's Gospel ends (fo. 120 [109] *r° a*), and following it as closely as St. John's follows St. Luke's, comes the Apocalypse,—placed in this order, no doubt, because of the common authorship, as is suggested by the words of the superscription prefixed to it: "Farther we write the Revelation which was [given] unto Saint John *the Evangelist*, when he was in the island Patmos, where he was sent by Nero Cæsar".† After this the text of the Apocalypse proceeds, occupying nearly 29 pages (ff. 120 [109] *r°*—134 [123] *r°*), and subscribed as follows: "[Here] ends the Revelation which was [given] unto Saint John the Apostle and Evan-

* See the photographic *facsimile* on page 398.

† This superscription is in substance identical with that prefixed to the commonly-known version of the Apocalypse, as attested by the Leyden and Florence Mss., and printed in the Polyglots. For these Mss., see pp. 300, 316, of my Paper referred to, p. 347, note †.

gelist; his prayer [be] with the sinner that wrote it. Amen." Then follows, in the same column, the Book of the Acts, separated by the usual brief interval, and superscribed in the usual terms.* Then the Catholic Epistles, all seven, arranged in their customary Greek order, the Four Minor Epistles with the rest (2 Peter after 1 Peter and before 1 John, and the remaining three after 1 John)—these latter being of the version commonly known as "Pococke." Last of all (as above stated) come the Pauline Epistles, ending with that to the Hebrews.

The whole book is divided into the 165 sections,† known as ܟܬܘܬܐ, which are found in so many Mss. of the Syriac New Testament, Peshitto and Harklensian alike: but of these only 164 now appear, the last having perished with the lost leaves at the end. These sections are noted by marginal numbers. Another set of marginal numbers marks a Lectionary system by which the New Testament is portioned into 468 or more lessons for the Sundays and holydays of the ecclesiastical year, of which but 467 remain. These lessons are farther marked by rubrics inserted in the text;‡ and many other lessons, for special days and occasions, are denoted by like rubrics, but without marginal numbers. Both these arrangements, sectional and lectionary, belong properly to the Peshitto text only. The "Pococke" Epistles bear on their margin no numbers, of either system; though portions of 2 Peter, and the whole of each of the

* For this superscription, and the preceding subscription to the Apocalypse, see second column of autotype Plate XXI., which represents fo. 134 [123] *r° b.* The superscription to the Apocalypse, with preceding subscription to St. John's Gospel, is on fo. 120 [109] *r° a*; but I am unable to give an autotype of it, the inner column of every page being impracticable for photographic reproduction in the present state of the Ms., the modern binding of which is too tight to allow the leaves to lie flat.

† This total is made up as follows:—St. Matthew, 22; St. Mark, 13; St. Luke, 23; St. John, 20; Acts (with Catholic Epistles), 32; Pauline Epistles, 55. For these sections (which are peculiar to Syriac usage) see a valuable note by Dr. I. H. Hall, in *Journal of Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* (June–Dec., 1882, pp. 11 and 12). Cp. also Wright, *Catal. of Syr. Mss., Brit. Mus.*, p. 41 (where they are set forth as given in Add. 14448, a New Testament written *circ.* A.D. 700) and *passim.*

‡ Column 2 of the autotype Plate XXI. shows both these marginal numberings—lesson 1 and section 1 of the Acts, and also an inserted rubric assigning the lesson to "The Ascension of our Lord."

other three, are appointed for certain days by inserted rubrics. The Apocalypse alone has no mark to show that any portion of it was read in Church. It however, in common with the rest of the New Testament in this Ms., is divided into verses (ܟܘܡܬܐ = κόμματα or ῥήματα), by the usual lozenge-groups of dots (⁘). These marks, as well as the marginal numbers with the ornaments attached to them, and the rubrics, and the superscriptions and subscriptions of the several books, are in red pigment.

The notes which occupy the penultimate page, 249 [242] r^o, which is enclosed in a many-coloured border, relate to these divisions of the text, and may therefore conveniently be described here.

Its first paragraph (1°) is the only part of it that contains anything bearing on the special contents of the Ms. The opening sentence, written in red, is as follows: "[Here] ends the writing of the books of the New Testament, in which there are sections (ܦܨܩܐ, as above) one hundred and sixty-five, besides the Revelation and the four Epistles, 137 [3]" (the fourth digit is uncertain). At this point a word is lost—probably the equivalent of "verses",—owing to a hole in the vellum, which extends also through words in the two following lines. Then begins a second sentence (of which the words printed in *italics* are written in black) as follows: "*Now there are verses* (ܟܘܡܬܐ) *of the Gospel;* nine thousand . . . . . and sixty 3 *and of the Acts* four thousand one hundred . . . [ver]ses *and of the Apostle* six thousand four hundred and 71." * The next paragraph gives (2°) a reckoning, not very completely set forth, of the "Chapters" (ܟܦܠܐ = κεφάλαια), "Canons" (ܩܢܘܢܐ = κανόνες, *i. e.* Eusebio-Ammonian sections), "Miracles" (ܢܣܝܐܬܐ), "Parables" (ܡܬܠܐ), and "Testimonies" (ܣܗܕܘܬܐ, *i. e.* Old Testament citations), of each Gospel severally. The final paragraph gives (3°) a similar reckoning of the "verses" of the several Gospels, as follows:—St. Matthew, 2520; St. Mark, 1275; St. Luke, 3083;

* The absence of the numbers which I have indicated thus (. . .), is due to the hole above-mentioned. In Rich. 7158 (Brit. Mus., probably of cent. xi.), there is a similar reckoning, giving to the Gospels 9863 verses; Acts and Catholic Epistles, 4149; Pauline, 6473. These numbers enable us to fill up the gaps in f. 249 r° with probable accuracy. See Rosen-Forshall, *Catal. Codd. Mss. Orient.*, Pars i., p. 20.

St. John, 2532. The sum of these numbers, 9410, does not agree with the total number of verses stated above in the first paragraph, which is 9[.]63 (probably 9863); but I have not been industrious enough to ascertain by actual counting which of them, if either, agrees with the number of verses into which the text is, as I have said, actually divided. The Chapters and Canons which are reckoned in the second paragraph are nowhere indicated in the text or margin of our Ms. These reckonings agree pretty nearly with similar lists in many other Mss.*

The concluding note which fills the *verso* of this leaf is, as I have said, more than usually difficult to read, being disfigured by damp and friction. With the kind assistance of Mr. Gwilliam, for which my special acknowledgments are due, I have been able to recover its contents in a form all but complete. In this note, the scribe describes himself as "Stephen, a monk of the monastery of Mar Jacob the Egyptian Recluse, and of Mar Barshabba, near the town of Ṣalach, in the country of Turʿabdin, in the dominion [ܫܘܠܛܢܐ, *shultono*] of Ḥesna d' Kipha." He asks the prayers of his readers for himself, and for (among others) his "paternal uncles, the monks Masʿud deceased, and John and Simeon, who ministered to me according to their ability," and for his "maternal uncles, monks and presbyters, deceased, Gabriel and Jacob, who also took care of me in the matter of instruction, and writing, and so forth", and for five others, monks, whom he mentions by name; "and for all who have taken part by word or deed in the work" of producing the Ms. Finally he informs us that the book was written at the expense and for the use of Rabban Gabriel, apparently a different person from the uncle of the same name above mentioned, "monk and priest, deceased, of the town of Beth-Naḥle"; for whom he asks special prayers, "and for his fathers, and for his brother Denḥa, deacon, deceased," and for another deceased deacon, Sahda, and a youth named Moses. It is disappointing not to find, among the many persons here named, even one Patriarch, or Bishop, or Abbot, whom one might be able to identify, and thus to determine the date of the Ms. But,

* Cp., *e.g.*, the notes appended to the Gospels in the Bodleian Mss., Hunt. 587 (cent. xii.), and Or. 361 (cent. xiv.); Payne Smith, *Catal. Codd. Mss. Biblioth. Bodl.*, Pars vi., coll. 86, 91. In the former, the (Syriac) sections, and the lessons, are also reckoned for each Gospel.

as I shall presently show, this note yields enough to make the date a matter of probable inference, though not of actual proof. It seems likely that a shorter note, giving the date of the writing, and perhaps the name of the contemporary Patriarch, may have been subjoined to the close of the text of the New Testament, on the *verso* of the lost penultimate leaf.

I now turn back to describe the eleven leaves which I have mentioned as inserted into the middle of the Ms. (now numbered ff. 109–119). They contain a Harmony of the narratives of the Passion, as given in the four Gospels, arranged so as to form a continuous history, taken not from the Peshitto, but from the Harklensian version; the extracts of which it is made up being assigned to the Evangelists to whom they severally pertain, by their names entered over against each on the margin. The whole of this Harmony is portioned into lessons for Good Friday. These leaves seem to be written by the same hand as the text of the New Testament, or by a very similar and contemporaneous one: but the ink is different, and the red pigment of its rubrics and marginal notes is not the vermilion which is used in the body of the book, but an inferior substance, apparently red lead. This interpolated matter was intended to follow the Gospels, and is inserted after the eighth leaf of the eleventh quire (fo. 108), which leaf is occupied by the latter part of the fourth Gospel. But inasmuch as the last verse of that Gospel runs on into the first page of the ninth leaf of that quire, being the page on which the Apocalypse begins (properly fo. 109 *r°*, but now in consequence of the interpolation, 120), and extends to four lines followed by three lines of subscription, the scribe, in order to make these eleven leaves read continuously with what precedes, has repeated these seven lines at the head of the first column of the *recto* of the first interpolated leaf (now fo. 109), so that the portion of the Ms. containing the Gospels, *plus* the Harmony of the Passion, should, if separated, form a complete book. He then proceeds to introduce the Harmony with the superscription: "Further we write the lessons of the redeeming Passion of Christ our Lord, which are gathered from the four Evangelists, Harklensian version." It occupies twenty-one pages, ending on the *recto* of the eleventh of these leaves (fo. 119), and is subscribed: "[Here] end the select lessons of the great Friday of the Crucifixion, gathered from the

four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John." This Harmony is substantially identical with one which follows the Gospels in a Paris MS. (No. 31, Zotenberg's *Catal. des Mss. Syriaques de la Biblioth. Nat.*) of the Syriac New Testament (dated A. Gr., 1514), and with the Good Friday portion of the "Lessons for Passion Week" in the Lectionary 7169 Rich (probably of twelfth century) of the British Museum—* which is found also in other Mss. The *verso* of this eleventh leaf (fo. 119) was left blank by the scribe, but has since been scrawled over by a clumsy hand with sundry entries, of which the first records a change of ownership of the Ms.: "I bought this book of the New [Testament], I Simeon of Hatacha, [named] Taibu, Patriarch, from Ṣaliba son of the deacon Joshua, son of the presbyter Simeon, for one hundred and twenty ʿathmanih (ܥܬܡܢܝܗ)."† The date is added, "1845, Canun the latter, 28" (January, 1534, A.D.).

I now proceed to summarize the results which the evidence yielded by the Ms., as above stated, enables us to draw, concerning its age and history.

In the first place, it is a Ms. of Jacobite origin. The fact that it embodies the "Pococke" text of the Four Epistles—a Jacobite version—raises a presumption in this direction, which is confirmed by the presence of the associated eleven leaves containing the Harmony of the Passion, compiled from the Harklensian Gospels—also a Jacobite work. Moreover, the vocalization by Greek letters, found here and there in the text, is a Jacobite characteristic; and (as I shall show more particularly hereafter) the estrangelo character throughout is distinctly of a well-marked Jacobite type. To these internal indications, yielded by the contents and handwriting of the Ms., is to be added the independent testimony of the final note on its last page. It was written, as we there learn, in the very headquarters of the Jacobite Church, in "the convent of Mar Jacob the

* See Rosen-Forshall, *Catal.*, p. 34.

† A Turkish coin, said to be worth about 7½*d.* The book would thus have been sold for £3 15*s.* See Payne Smith, *Catal.*, coll. 611, 612, for the note of the sale of the Bodleian Ms., Hunt. 163 (Lexicon of Bar-Ali), forty years later, for 200 ʿathmanih (£6 5*s.*).

Egyptian recluse and of Mar Barshabba," near the town of Ṣalach, in Tur'abdin, in the dominion of Ḥesn-Kipha. Tur'abdin* is a district of northern Mesopotamia, now included in Kurdistan, and known as Jebel-Tur—a hilly region, as its name (= *Mountain* of Servants) implies;

bounded on the north and north-east by the Tigris. Its western limit reaches within a few miles of the city of Marde, now and for seven

* See the accompanying map, which is mainly from Ritter's map, with a few details added from Badger's; some also from that prefixed to J. G. Taylor's "Travels in Kurdistan," printed in *Journal of R. G. S.*, vol. xxxv. (1865), p. 21, in which he describes what he saw of Tur'abdin and the adjoining parts in 1861. The south-western limits of the district of Tur'abdin is indicated by the dotted line.

centuries past the seat of the Jacobite Patriarch. It was once full of Jacobite convents, and is still noted as the chief abode of the dwindled and dwindling Jacobite community, still ruled by three Bishops, to one of whom it gives the title of "Metropolitan of Jebel-Tur."* Concerning the convent where the Ms. was written, and its eponymous saints, a detailed narrative is to be found in an inedited volume (Syriac) of *Lives of the Saints* (Brit. Mus., Add. 12174, No. 71, a Ms. to which I shall again have occasion to refer),† a Jacobite collection, written A. Gr. 1508 (= A.D. 1197) for a Jacobite community, under the sanction of the then Jacobite Patriarch, and preserved (until it was removed some fifty years ago to London) in the library of another Jacobite community in the Nitrian Desert of Upper Egypt,—the first life in the series being that of Barṣauma, founder of the

* The importance of Tur'abdin, and its Bishops and their people, in the Jacobite communion, appears again and again in the latter centuries of the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* of Barhebræus, and is made conspicuous by the fact mentioned below (p. 359, note *), of the schism of A.D. 1364, when a rival Patriarch of Tur'abdin was set up, which continued for 130 years. "Tur'abdin is my right-hand" was the exclamation of the Patriarch Ismael (Ignatius VI.), under whom this breach took place, as recorded by the continuator of Barhebræus (*Chron. Eccles.*, I. 99, col. 801 of the edition of Abbeloos and Lamy, to which I refer throughout); and within the last fifty years the Jacobite Bishop of Mar Mattai (near Mosul), in conversation with Mr. Badger, spoke of the same district in like terms, saying of it, "There our strength lies" (Badger's *Nestorians*, vol. I., p. 52). Mr. Badger, when he visited it in 1850, found upwards of 5000 Jacobites in some half-dozen towns or villages, one or two of which were occupied exclusively by Jacobites (*ib.*, pp. 53 ff.).

A Syriac dialect is still the vernacular of this region; see the work of Prym and Socin, *Der neu-aramäische Dialect des Tûr-Abdîn* (Göttingen, 1881), and the *Einleitung* by Prym, who travelled through Tur'abdin in 1870. The priests can read the Syriac of their Lectionaries and Service-books, but many of them do not understand it. Few of the laity can even read it (*Nestorians*, I., pp. 54, 61).

In Marde, Mr. Badger reckons (p. 49) the number of Jacobite families at 600, out of a total of 2780. The Patriarch's abode is near this city, in the convent of Mar Ananias, called Deir Zaferan. Under him are eight Metropolitans and three Bishops. Three of the eleven belong to Tur'abdin, as above stated (*ib.*, p. 60).

The other centres of the scanty Jacobite population are, Diarbekr (Amid), Mosul, and Urfah (Edessa). In Mr. Badger's book further details are to be found, also in the earlier *Narrative* of Southgate (1840), and in Prym's *Einleitung*, as above.

† See Wright, *Catal.*, pp. 1123, 1135 sqq.

Jacobite sect. Ṣalach,* the town to which the above-mentioned convent was "near," is known as a Jacobite see, apparently at one time the chief see of Turʿabdin,—for the continuator of Barhebræus records† that when the Jacobite Church of a later day was divided (A. Gr. 1675, = A.D. 1364) by a schism (which lasted till near the close of the next century), it was the Bishop of Ṣalach, one Saba, that the Turʿabdinese Bishops elected to be "Patriarch of Turʿabdin," and it was in this very convent of Mar Jacob that the election took place. Ḥesn-Kipha, as we may infer from the note as above cited, was, at the time when our Ms. was written, the civil capital of Turʿabdin. It is stated in the Ms. above referred to (Add. 12174)‡ to have been built by "Constantine [Constantius] son of Constantine the Great," as a frontier fortress against the Persians. It is to be found in modern maps as Ḥisn-Kifa, on the Tigris, where it forms the northern boundary of Jebel-Tur. It is worth while to add that the only other town mentioned in this note, Beth-naḥle, appears to have been also in Turʿabdin; for its name (not otherwise known) occurs in another Nitrian Ms. (Add. 14719)§ of evidently Jacobite origin, in connexion with that of a Turʿabdinese monk.

How long our Ms. may have continued in its first abode, we have no means of determining. The entry on fo. 119 *v°* informs us (as we have seen) that in A. Gr. 1845 (A.D. 1534) it was the property of one Ṣaliba, who in that year sold it to "Simeon Taibu of Hatacha, Patriarch." This Simeon ||

* Ṣalach retains its name, and is marked in Taylor's map, some twenty-five miles south of Ḥisn-Kifa.

† *Chron. Eccles.*, I. 99, c. 799. ‡ Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1136. § *Ib.*, p. 275, note.

|| A Simeon named Taibutho (a fuller form of Taibu), from the title of a book written by him, but of a much earlier age, is recorded in the list of distinguished physicians, *ap.* Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, II. p. 315. He is reckoned (*ib.* p. 425, and Barhebr., *Chr. Eccl.*, II. 29, c. 139) as contemporary with Ananjesu, the Nestorian Catholicus, who was consecrated A.D. 684–6. See also *B. O.* III. (pt. I.) p. 181. A Simeon of Hatacha, named in the continuation of the *Chr. Eccl.* (*ap.* Assem. *B. O.* II. p. 382) as one of the Bishops who elected the Patriarch A.D. 1293, is also excluded by his date from identification with the Simeon of A.D. 1534. His name does not appear in the Ms. 7198 Rich, whence Abbeloos and Lamy derive the continuation printed by them (I. 97, c. 781 sqq., 785); but is given, as in Assem., in that which they append, c. 907, from the Bodleian Ms., Hunt. 1. Hatacha is presumably the Attach of Taylor's map.

cannot be with any confidence identified with any one of the Patriarchs recorded in the Jacobite lists. It was usual in the Jacobite Church for a monk when consecrated Bishop to take a new name; and it was the fixed custom, from and after A.Gr. 1604 (A.D. 1293) that anyone, Priest or Bishop, when elevated to the Patriarchate, should be styled Ignatius.* It is therefore possible that the purchaser of our Ms. in A.D. 1534 may have been Ignatius XIII., the Joshua of Kelath who in the Barsalibæan list of Patriarchs printed by Assemani† is stated by the continuator to have "hagarized" (apostatized to Islam), but afterwards to have recanted and resumed his throne. The date of this prelate's apostasy was A. Gr. 1828 (A.D. 1517);‡ but that of his death is unrecorded, and I know of no means of ascertaining whether in 1534 he still lived and styled himself Patriarch. Of the next two Patriarchs, Ignatius XIV. and XV., we are only informed that they were Jacob of Damascus and David of Maʿadan, their dates being unrecorded. The probability is that our Simeon may have been Ignatius XVI., also known as ʿAbdallah of Ḥesna d'Atta, who appears under that name next

* To give one example out of very many: the Patriarch elected A.D. 1293, as mentioned in last note, Bader Zokhe, otherwise Barvahib, was called Joseph as Bishop of Marde, and took the name of Ignatius when elevated to the Patriarchate, as did all his successors thenceforth. He is commonly reckoned, however, as Ignatius V., four of his predecessors having borne the same name, though not all of them in immediate continuity. (Assem., *B. O.* II. p. 381; Barhebr., *Chr. Eccl.*, I. 97, c. 783.) So too the Saba who was chosen (see above, p. 357, note *) to head the schism of Turʿabdin, A.D. 1364, was named Basil as Bishop of Ṣalach, but when he assumed the Patriarchate, assumed with it the name Ignatius. (Barhebr., *Chr. Eccl.*, I. 99, c. 797, 801; Assem., *B. O.* II. p. 383.)

† *B. O.* II. pp. 323–4, note.

‡ This is stated in a note found in the Ms. 7197 Rich. (see R.-F., *Catal.*, p. 89); compare also the note in Add. 21580 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 625), written apparently by this Joshua himself. In this Ms. is also an entry (a deed of sale) purporting to be written by ʿAbdallah (Ignatius XVI.).

I have compared the handwriting of both these notes with that of Simeon's entry in our Ms. That which is attributable to Joshua, though very like Simeon's in general character, is decidedly better and stronger; and on examination proves to be distinguishable from it in many points. That which is in the name of ʿAbdallah shows no resemblance, and if really written by him would be conclusive against identifying him with Simeon. But it may be merely a copy of a memorandum written by ʿAbdallah,—as in Add. 12174 we find an attestation purporting to be given under the hand of the Patriarch Michael, which according to Dr. Wright (*Catal.*, p. 1137) is in the hand of the scribe of the Ms.

in the list above cited (see also Assem., *B. O.*, II. p. 482), and is mentioned as Patriarch in two entries, dated respectively A.Gr. 1839 and 1847 (A.D. 1528, 1535), found in two Mss. of the British Museum, Arundel Or. 11 and 53.* However, in treating of persons of whom so little is known, belonging to a time when the apostasy of a Patriarch and his restitution can hardly have failed to result in a disputed succession, it is not possible to solve this question of identity with anything like certainty. But Hatacha, Simeon's abode—probably his see—was a Jacobite episcopal city, near the more important see of Maipherakt (Mejafarkin), also Jacobite, thirty or forty miles north-west of Ḥesn-Kipha (see map). If then the new owner of our Ms. lived at Hatacha, it would there be still within the North-Mesopotamian region: if he occupied the patriarchal abode near Marde, it would be in a convent on the very borders of Tur'abdin, still less remote than Hatacha from the place of its origin—the monastery where the Jacobite Church had and still has the centre of its life.†

It appears then that the Ms. continued in Jacobite ownership down to the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Beyond the year 1534 its history is a blank. We have no means of knowing when, or how—by purchase or by force—it was removed from the possession of the successors

* See R.-F., *Catal.*, pp. 61, 95, where the editors wrongly propose to identify him with, or place him immediately after, Ignatius XIII. Kelath is no doubt the Killeth visited by Badger (*Nestorians*, I. p. 53, and map). Ḥesna d'Atta, *i.e.*, *Woman's Castle*, is probably the place near Marde now known by the equivalent Arabic name Kalaat-ul-Mara, in memory of its successful defence by a woman in the fourteenth century, when besieged by Tamerlane. (*Ib.*, p. 51.)

† It is to be mentioned that a Simeon appears to have been Nestorian Patriarch at the date given in this entry; in fact three successive Simeons occupied the throne between A.D. 1504 and 1551 (Assem., *B. O.*, II. p. 457; III. (pt. I.) p. 621), one of whom may have made this entry. But the handwriting of the entry, and the other circumstances of our Ms., seem to exclude the probability of its having passed into any but Jacobite hands.

Yet it appears that in the sixteenth century Nestorian prelates and people had a footing in three important Jacobite cities of the region of which I have treated, Marde, Amid, and Ḥesn-Kipha. And it is certain that the Nestorians of that time, and as it seems from the time of Babuæus, A.D. 498, gave their Catholicus the style of Patriarch (Assem., *B. O.*, III. (pt. II.) p. dcxvii.; cp. the epistle of the Nestorians to Pope Julius III., A.D. 1552, *ap.* Assem., *B. O.*, I. p. 526.)

of Simeon of Hatacha, nor through what hands it passed until,—at Marde perhaps, or more probably at Diarbekr, or Aleppo,—it became the property of someone who carried it to England, from whom it was ultimately purchased by the late Earl of Crawford, a nobleman eminent in learning no less than in rank and birth, and found a secure and worthy resting-place in his library.

But when we seek to determine the age of the Ms., we find the evidence of time by no means so distinct as the evidence of place. As I have said above, the concluding note, long as it is, gives no date, nor among the many persons named in it does it name one whose date can be determined. On the back of the modern binding in which the book now appears, it is lettered "Circ. A.D. 1000"; but by whom, or on what grounds, this date has been assigned, I am not informed. We are thus thrown back on the judgment of experts, and the evidence of the handwriting. The estrangelo character in which it is written, as I have already stated, is of a type that cannot be regarded as archaic. A glance at the autotype Plate (XXI.) will satisfy anyone who is familiar with the estrangelo Mss. of the fifth and sixth centuries, that we have here a work of much later date. The rectangular *dolath* and *rish* (ܕ ܪ), and the open *he*, *vau*, and *mim* (ܗ ܘ ܡ), which are usual in early Mss., and which are imitated more or less exactly in the type used in this Paper, as in most founts of estrangelo type, are in our Ms. replaced by curved forms of the first-named two letters, and closed forms of the remaining three,* as shown in the autotypes. The Greek (or Jacobite) vowels, which in our Ms. are occasionally inserted, *prima manu* as it appears, are unknown to the earlier scribes; and if we may trust the tradition reported by Assemani,† which assigns their introduction to the latter half of the eighth century, we can hardly suppose it to have been written much before A.D. 800. As to the modified forms of the consonants, the inference to be drawn from them is ambiguous. On the one hand, the rounding of the *dolath* and *rish* appears

* This is so without exception in the text; but the archaic forms are used, as in most Mss., as numerals in the quire-signatures, and in the numbering of sections and lessons.

† *B. O.*, I. pp. 64, 521.

no doubt in Mss. of the seventh century, or perhaps earlier; but it was followed by a reaction in favour of the archaic or square forms, which is supposed to have been due to John of Kartamin (consecrated A. Gr. 1299, A.D. 988),* and to characterize the best estrangelo writing of his time and the succeeding century. On the other hand, it is certain, as I am about to show, that some Mss. of the eleventh century and more of the twelfth show a reversion to the rounded forms. For so far, therefore, the palæographical indications may be interpreted either as pointing to a date for our Ms. as early as the close of the eighth century, or to one as late as the twelfth. And in point of fact, of the experts to whose judgment the Ms., or photographs from it, have been submitted, some have been disposed to assign it to the earlier and some to the later period. The conjectural date above mentioned, A.D. 1000, though at first sight it may seem to commend itself as a compromise between extremes, is really less probable than either A.D. 800 or A.D. 1200; inasmuch as it falls in the period of the revival of those archaic forms which, as I have said, the writer of our Ms. avoids in his text.

It is plain, therefore, that the tests which palæography furnishes are insufficient to solve even approximately the question before us. The evidence of the Greek vowels gives at most a superior limit, and that by no means a certain one, for the age of the Ms. The evidence of the modified letter-forms leaves us unable to decide between two periods which differ from one another by three or four centuries.

This being so, it appeared to me desirable to try, by direct inspection of dated Mss., how far the supposed tests of age could be relied on. The first Ms. I chose for examination with this view was a Jacobite Lectionary, dated A. Gr. 1311 (A.D. 1000), classed Add. 12139 in the British Museum. Its general resemblance to the Crawford Ms. will be perceived by anyone who compares the facsimile page in Wright's *Catalogue* (Plate X.) with our autotypes. The same forms of all the letters above mentioned appear in it throughout; it yields one instance of the lapse of *olaph* and *tau* into the cursive character which occurs in our Ms.; and one word is furnished with Greek vowels of the same type (see above, p. 350). At first sight, then,

* Barhebr., *Chron. Eccles.*, I. 76, c. 417.

it was plain that, without going further, we have in this single page a proof that the supposed characteristics of the period when the school of John of Kartamin prevailed are untrustworthy. But when I extended my scrutiny to the other pages of this Ms. I soon arrived at the further perplexing result, that the forms in question—those at least which are most marked and have been most relied on, the rounded *dolath* and *rish*, and the closed *he*,—are used only in the earlier pages, and in the latter part of the book are replaced by characters of the archaic type. Nor can this fact be accounted for by supposing a change of scribe. The subscription names but one (Romanus), and the handwriting is in all else so uniform as to confirm this statement. Moreover, the transition from the later to the earlier forms occurs, strange to say, in the middle of a page (fo. 84 *r*°, line 9) where there is no break in the text. In the rest of that page the forms are mixed; but before it I have observed no instance of the early forms, and after it no instance of the later forms.

Thus the evidence of this Ms. (a Ms. of importance, a Lectionary written under the directions of the Patriarch Athanasius V. for the Convent of Mar Barsauma) utterly discredits the test of age as supposed to be deducible from the presence or absence of the archaic forms of the letters above mentioned. It is plain that these forms were liable to be (as in this case) disused or resumed at the fancy of the scribe, or perhaps according to the taste of his employer. It may not improbably be found on closer investigation that, in general, such and such forms prevailed at this or that period in certain districts, or among the penmen of certain schools.*

* It appears to me that the statement of Barhebræus above referred to, which is also cited by Assem. (II. 352), concerning the revival of the ancient estrangelo under John of Kartamin, has been wrongly understood as regards the extent and permanence of its results. It does not necessarily convey more than that he originated an important and active school of caligraphy for his own convent, in which the archaic forms were revived. Kartamin (now Kerdamin) was in Turʿabdin, and yet, as I shall show presently, the later forms, if they were ever superseded under his influence in Turʿabdinese usage, had resumed their place in Turʿabdinese writing before the end of the twelfth century, even in Kartamin. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, one of the Mss. to which I am about to direct special attention as characterized by precisely the same forms as those which belong to the Crawford Ms., was written (as the subscription tells us) in Nov., A. Gr. 1506 (A.D. 1194), by one Simeon of Midlo (in Turʿabdin), who was trained in the convent

But the example I have adduced is a warning that such generalizations, unless in cases where they are supplemented by special evidence in some other shape, are not to be relied on as sufficient to determine even approximately the date of any individual Ms.

Finding then so little to rely on in this direction, I turned to another, and proceeded to inquire whether the notes of place, which are so distinctly given in the subscription of our Ms., might serve to help out the deficiency of notes of time. The Ms. was certainly written in a convent of Tur'abdin in Northern Mesopotamia. It seemed worth while therefore to look for dated Mss. proceeding from North-Mesopotamian convents, and to compare its handwriting with theirs. To one such Ms. especially my attention had been directed. The late Dr. William Wright, to whom I had sent a photograph of a page of the Ms., gave his opinion, though guardedly, that it was of the twelfth century, and added, "The writing seems to me to be very like that of Add. 12174": and Dr. Karl Hörning, of the British Museum, to whom I afterwards showed the Ms. itself at the Museum (without telling him Dr. Wright's opinion), expressed the same judgment as to its date, and confirmed it by producing Add. 12174, the very manuscript which Dr. Wright had named. The resemblance between the two Mss. when laid side by side was most striking. Now Add. 12174 is the Nitrian Ms. to which I have referred above (p. 357)

of Mar Simeon *of Kartamin* (see below, p. 369, No. 41). One short note only (fo. 176 r^{c}) in this Ms., in which the scribe asks the reader's prayers, is in the older estrangelo, with angular forms.

The passage of the *Chronicon*, relating to John of Kartamin, runs as follows:—

"Mar John, Bishop of the Convent of Kartamin renewed the writing of estrangelo in Tur'abdin, which had been disused for the space of a hundred years; and by examination of written books the prelate himself learned it, and taught his brother's sons. But there was given perfect grace in writing to Emmanuel, and in painting to Nahe his brother. And the prelate sent Peter their brother to Melitene, and he brought parchment; and Rabban Emmanuel wrote seventy copies of the Peshitto, Septuagint [*sc.*, Syro-Hexaplar], and Harklensian [versions]; and a volume of Homilies in three divisions; and gave them to the Convent of Kartamin, books which have not their equal in the world."

[The word which I render "in painting" is misunderstood by Assem., and by Abbeloos and Lamy, and transliterated as part of the name of the brother of Emmanuel;—"Nahabsajorutha," A. and L.].

as the authority for the history of the convent where the Crawford Ms. was written, and of the foundation of Ḥesn-Kipha. It is dated A. Gr. 1508 (A.D. 1196), and was written by Joseph a monk, in and for the Jacobite convent of Mar Barsauma of Melitene, as we read in an appended note,* purporting to be attested by the then Patriarch, Michael I., surnamed the Great, who had formerly been the Abbot of that convent. The name of this prelate—a great promoter of learning, the friend and contemporary of the chief light of the Jacobite Church of the twelfth century, Dionysius Barsalibi†—favoured the supposition that these carefully executed Mss. might be among the fruits of the impulse given to literary and theological pursuits in the Jacobite Church by him and Barsalibi, in the region where their influence would naturally be chiefly felt—the region including and adjoining Tur'abdin, reckoning among its principal cities Marde, to which he transferred the patriarchal seat—Amid, where his predecessors had sat and to which when he left it he transferred Barsalibi—Melitene, the birthplace of both these prelates and to the last the favourite residence of Michael.‡ Led by this idea, I proceeded to search, by the help of the Catalogues of the British Museum, for dated Jacobite estrangelo Mss. of the Scriptures, written in this region. It was not however among the volumes of the great Nitrian collection that I found the evidence I sought, but among those acquired earlier by the Museum, which had been collected by Rich in his sojourn in Mesopotamia in 1820, at Mosul and elsewhere.

Of these I will first mention 7154 Rich. It is a Jacobite Psalter, dated A. Gr. 1575 (A.D. 1204), written by Simeon a monk, "in the convent of the Theotokos called *Beth-Aksenoye* (the Guest-house), in the Mount of Edessa," for the use of Moses, a monk of Ṣalach in Tur'abdin. The estrangelo of this Ms. not only bears a close general resemblance to

* Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1137.

† See, for Michael, Barhebr., *Chron. Eccles.*, I., 89, 90, c. 525, 535 and sqq., 605;—for Barsalibi, *ib.* 513, 539, 543, 559. The latter died 1171 A.D., the former 1199.

‡ Amid is less than 100 miles from Melitene, and 60 from Marde, which city is within 20 miles of the border of Tur'abdin, about 30 from Kartamin and 40 from Ḥesn-Kipha. Edessa is within 100 miles of the first-named three cities. The length of the entire district including all these places is about 200 miles. See map, p. 356.

that of the Crawford Ms., but reproduces each and all of its characteristic peculiarities as above specified.

Hardly if at all less close is the resemblance shown by 7160 Rich, a Jacobite copy of the Peshitto New Testament, written a year earlier than 7154 Rich, in another convent of the same "Mount of Edessa," by a monk Abulpharag of Amid, who emphatically records that he was educated from childhood "at the feet of Mar Michael Patriarch of Syria,"* thus connecting his work, as the scribe of Add. 12174 connects his, with the name of that great patron of letters.

The evidence, then, of these two Mss., taken with that of the Nitrian Ms. Add. 12174, makes it impossible to maintain that the palæographical characteristics of the Crawford Ms. assign it necessarily to the eighth or ninth century, or to any period earlier than the latter part of the twelfth. They prove that, at least among the Mss. of Northern Mesopotamia, the same characteristics mark those written shortly before, or shortly after, A.D. 1200. A comparison of them, moreover, with our autotypes, will convince anyone familiar with Syriac Mss. of different periods, that the resemblance pointed out by Dr. Wright and Dr. Hörning is no mere casual or superficial one, but that the Crawford Ms., not only as regards the forms of particular letters and other special peculiarities, but also as regards the general aspect and style of the handwriting, comes very much nearer to this late group of three Mss. than to the Ms. with which I at first compared it (Add. 12139), or to any Ms. of earlier date. It is to be added that, in these three Mss., the resemblance is twofold; for it shows itself no less markedly in the cursive which is used in their notes (as in the final note of the Crawford Ms.), than in the estrangelo of their text.† It will be observed that the local indications by which our inquiry was guided to the period now under consideration, are as distinct in the two Rich Mss. as in the Nitrian one. As it names Melitene, so do they name Amid and

* See Rosen-Forshall, *Catal.*, pp. 8, 22. The writing of these Mss. is there described as "Nestorian"; but this is a mistake, corrected by Wright, *Catal.*, pp. 1202, 1203.

† In Add. 12174, and in 7160 Rich, the final note is written in cursive: in 7154 Rich it is in estrangelo, but on fo. 8*b* there is a footnote in cursive. In these three cursive notes, the writing is much the same in style as that of the last page of the Crawford Ms.

Ṣalach. All three alike are written by, or for, monks of convents situated within the region on which our attention has been fixed, the region to which the Crawford Ms. belongs—one of them (7154 Rich) for a monk of the very convent in which the Crawford Ms. was written.* A farther token of the affinity between the latter Ms. and the two Rich Mss. is yielded by the subscriptions whence we have gathered the notes of place. They bear in form and substance and even in wording a close resemblance to the longer subscription of our Ms., a resemblance much greater than is to be found (so far as I have observed) in any Ms. of earlier or much later date. So close is the coincidence of phrase that in the difficult task of deciphering the final page which exhibits it, material help is to be had from comparison of the other two with it.†

It was clear then that the evidence of the British Museum Collection pointed towards the period just before or just after the year 1200 A.D. for the probable date of our Ms. But it seemed to me desirable to test this conclusion by obtaining fuller evidence elsewhere. Zotenberg's *Catalogue* of the Syriac Mss. of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris showed that several estrangelo Mss. of the period thus indicated were to be found in that collection; and further, that most if not all of them belonged to the same geographical region with which, as I have shown, the above-mentioned

* It may be worth while to note the coincidences between our Ms. and 7154 Rich as regards the persons mentioned in their subscriptions. In the latter there are but five: Moses is the owner of the Ms., Simeon the scribe of it, and his collaborators are Joshua, Stephen, and Gabriel. Four of these names recur in the Crawford Ms.; Stephen is the scribe, Gabriel the owner, another Gabriel and a Simeon are among the scribe's near relatives, and the list of persons recorded by him ends with a Moses. These names however (except Stephen, which is not often met with) are too common in Syriac use to give more than a faint probability of identification of persons; and as regards Simeon, it will be shown presently that the person of that name who is mentioned in the Crawford subscription is more likely to have been a Simeon who died some years before the Rich Ms. was written.

† I may add that 7164 Rich, a copy of the Harklensian Gospels, written by Gabriel of Kephar-Salta (in Turʿabdin, see below, p. 369, on the Paris Ms. No. 46), is a well-marked example of the same form of estrangelo; not dated, but assigned (Rosen-Forshall, p. 27) to the "eleventh or twelfth century." Another Ms. of the same general type is 7171 Rich, a Lectionary written in a convent near Mosul, A. Gr. 1484 (A.D. 1173).

British Museum Mss., in common with the Crawford Ms., are connected. The probability therefore that our Ms. belonged to that period would be much strengthened or weakened according as the palæographical peculiarities which characterize it in common with the British Museum Mss. above described should or should not be found on examination to be exhibited by these Paris Mss. likewise. I accordingly proceeded to inspect all the New Testament Mss. of the Bibliothèque Nationale which are in the estrangelo character, and bear date circ. A.D. 1200. I may state the result of this inspection briefly by saying that all the Mss. (eight in number, Nos. 31, 35, 39, 40, 41, 46, 54, and 55 in Zotenberg) which come within the above description are of North Mesopotamia, and that each and all of them, when examined, proved to possess all the palæographical characteristics in question —all of them, moreover, so closely reproducing the general handwriting and style of our Ms. and the similar Mss. above specified, as to suggest the belief that they all proceed from one well-marked school of caligraphy—with the single exception of No. 55, which though it has all the distinctive features of the rest, is in a hand of different character. I subjoin the particulars of time, place, and person.

No. 31 [*Ancien fonds* 14], a Peshitto New Testament, was written A.Gr. 1514 (A.D. 1203) for a monk of Ṣalach, Theodore,—as was the nearly contemporary Ms. 7154 Rich for a monk of the same town. The scribe of No. 31 does not give his name.*

Nos. 35 [*Suppl.* 43], and 39 [*Anc. f.* 19], two copies of the Peshitto Gospels, were written by the monk Joseph of Ḥesn-Kipha; the former in the convent of Mar Ṣaliba in Turʿabdin, in which convent, as the subscription to the latter states, he was bred. No. 35 was written for Thomas of Mido (ܡܕܘܐ) in Turʿabdin. Its date is partly obliterated "one thousand . . . . and thirteen"); but as No. 39 is dated A.Gr. 1506, A.D. 1194, and is unmistakably the work of the same scribe, it is safe to fill up the blank by "five hundred," thus assigning it to A.D. 1202.†

* Zotenberg (*in loc.*) makes Theodore the scribe: but wrongly, as I read the note in the Ms. where these facts are stated.

† Zotenberg (*in loc.*) has failed to observe the identity of the scribe, and supplies "*three* hundred," thus making the date A.Gr. 1313 (A.D. 1002). He suggests that Mido may be the same

Nos. 40 [*Anc. f.* 24], and 54 [*Anc. f.* 23], both of them copies of the Gospels, the former Peshitto, the latter Harkensian,* were written by the monk Joshua of Castrum Romanum,† the former A.Gr. 1502 (A.D. 1191) for the monk Ananias of Marde; the latter A.Gr. 1503 (A.D. 1192) for the monk Barsauma of Alin‡ in Tur'abdin; both in convents of the Theotokos on the Mount of Edessa, the former called *Beth-Yihidoye* (ܒܝܬ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ) = Anchorites' House, the latter *Beth-Aksenoye* (ܒܝܬ ܐܟܣܢܝܐ) = Guest-house, the same convent in which 7154 Rich was written.

No. 41 [*Anc. f.* 25], also a copy of the Peshitto Gospels, was written in the convent of Mar Jacob on Mount Izla,§ by Simeon, priest and monk, a native of Mido‖ (ܡܕܘܐ), bred in the convent of Mar Simeon of Kartamin; with the help of his brother John, also a priest; who adds the final note stating these particulars, and records the death of Simeon in the month Teshrin II., A.Gr. 1506 (Nov., A.D. 1194). This note is written in an estrangelo differing little from that of the text written by Simeon.

No. 46 [*Suppl.* 36], containing the Acts and Catholic Epistles (Peshitto), was written later than the rest, A.Gr. 1529 (A.D. 1218), in the convent of Mar Ananias, by Simeon of Kephar-Salta, with the help of the monks Reuben and Simeon of Ṣaliba, and of their sister a nun. The latter convent is probably that of Tur'abdin in which No. 35 was written: the former no doubt was the well-known house near Marde, at that time and to the present day the abode of the Patriarch. That Kephar-Salta was in Tur'abdin, we gather from the history of the death, A.Gr. 1542 (A.D.

as Modiad (on Ritter's map *Midijad*; in Badger, p. 54, *Midyat*); but the Middo mentioned by Badger (p. 57; also marked by Ritter) is more likely. See under No. 41; also map, p. 356 above.

* This is the Ms. described by Adler, *N. T. Versiones Syr.*, pp. 55 sqq. He gives the date A.Gr. as above, but wrongly makes it = A.D. 1212.

† See Abbeloos and Lamy, note on *Chron. Eccles.*, I., 89, c. 533.

‡ Assem., *B. O.* III. (pt. II.), p. cxlii., writes this name Elyan, and mentions it in connexion with the Tur'abdinese towns Ḥaḥ and Ṣalach. It still exists,—see map; also Prym's *Introd.*, p. vii., for all three places.

§ Between Marde and Nisibis: see Abbeloos and Lamy, note on *Chron. Eccl.*, I., 26, c. 87.

‖ Probably the same as the place mentioned under No. 35. It is mentioned also by Assem., *B. O.*, III. (pt. II.), p. cxlii. (written as here with *yud* not *olaph*), immediately before the note relating to Ṣalach and Ḥaḥ (see above, note ‡).

1231), of Dionysius the Maphrian, who was of that town, as recorded by Barhebræus.*

It appears then that the evidence yielded by the Paris collection strongly confirms the surmise as to the age of the Crawford Ms. suggested by comparison of it with the British Museum Mss. above described. We have seen that its handwriting is closely and in all its characteristics similar to that of those three Mss., written like itself in Northern Mesopotamia, all of them dated about A.D. 1200. We now find that the Paris New Testament Mss., eight in number, which bear date about that time, were written in the same region and exhibit the same peculiar forms in their handwriting;—nay more, that all of them, with the single exception of No. 55, are connected (as is proved by the mention of Ṣalach, Ḥesn-Kipha, Mido, Alin, Kartamin, Kephar-Salta, and Marde) with that very North-Mesopotamian district, Turʿabdin, to which the Crawford Ms. belongs;—and in all but that one the affinity of handwriting extends beyond the characteristic forms which have been specially dwelt on, and seems to mark them as the product not only of the same period but of the same school. It is to be added that in most of these Paris Mss., no less than in the three of the British Museum, this affinity appears not only in the estrangelo of the text, but in the cursive of the notes appended to it;—and further, that it extends to the form, substance, and diction of these notes, as well as to the handwriting.

In confirmation of the idea that such a school must have existed at the period and in the region specified, I would call attention to the fact that in the above list of but eight Mss., there are two instances where two Mss. have been written by one and the same scribe (35 and 39 by Joseph of Ḥesn-Kipha, 40 and 54 by Joshua son of John of Castrum Romanum). This seems to indicate that the writers of these carefully elaborated Biblical Mss. (all on vellum, though written at a time when the so-called "cotton paper" was in common use) were a limited class, who had received special training. Other facts may be noted which point in the same direction. A monk of one convent in many cases (as in Nos. 35, 40, and 54, and 7154 Rich) is employed to execute a Ms. for a monk of

* *Chron. Eccl.* II. 59, cc. 403, 405.

another. In the subscription of Add. 12174 we read that the scribe was specially sent for from a distance. Again, the scribe sometimes records the name of the convent where he was bred (as 39, 41), or the persons by whom he was educated, as does the Stephen of the Crawford Ms.

In one of these Mss. I find what may perhaps be a clue to a closer approximation to the date of the Crawford Ms. It will be observed that though I have confidently assumed that the Joseph of No. 35 is the same as the Joseph of No. 39, I cannot propose to identify the Simeon who with his brother John wrote No. 41, with the Simeon of 7154 Rich, or with either of the Simeons named in the subscription to No. 46. The first-named died A.D. 1194: the work of the second is dated 1204; that of the other two 1218. But he may well have been the Simeon whom Stephen, the scribe of the Crawford Ms., names (see above, p. 353) as one of his three "paternal uncles, the monks Masʿud deceased, John, and *Simeon*," whose good offices he records, placing them first in the list of those for whom he asks his readers' prayers, and who, as the following sentence of the note conveys, together with his "maternal uncles," reared him and taught him to write. This Simeon, therefore, had a brother John; both were monks and (as seems to be implied) scribes; both (as may be inferred with certainty from the mention of Masʿud as "deceased") were living when this subscription was written. Simeon, no doubt, is a very common name, and John still commoner; but the double coincidence of name carries weight. We have seen ample reason to believe that our Ms. is of the same period as the Ms. No. 41 of Paris; we find that the two are closely akin in handwriting, and that both are the work of scribes of Turʿabdin (ours of Ṣalach, the other of Mido and Kartamin); and we may presume that "the paternal uncles John and Simeon" from whom Stephen learned his skill, belonged to the same region and wrote a hand similar to that in which they trained their nephew. It is surely improbable, then, that there were at this time, and in this not very wide region, two pairs of brothers named John and Simeon, both monks belonging to the class—a limited one, as we have seen—of scribes engaged in producing elaborate Biblical Mss. on vellum, in

an estrangelo of a very marked type, characterized by many notable peculiarities.*

If then we accept this identification of the John and Simeon of No. 41, with the John and Simeon of the Crawford Ms., it gives us a close approximation to the age of the latter by fixing an inferior limit for it. Simeon was alive when it was written; but he died after writing No. 41, in November, 1194. The Crawford Ms. was therefore written before that date, probably about 700 years ago.

However this may be, it will, I think, be admitted, that a strong case has been made out, on the evidence of the London and Paris Mss. adduced, for assigning to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century a Ms. written in North Mesopotamia—especially in Tur'abdin—showing the palæographic peculiarities which characterize our Ms. For so far, all the Mss. I have been able to find which are similarly characterized belong to that region and to that age. Further research may bring to light instances to the contrary, and thus show that an earlier date is possible; but meantime, unless and until a similar Ms. of higher antiquity can be pointed out, we are justified in assigning to our Ms., provisionally at least, as I have done above, a date a few years before or after A.D. 1200.†

It is to be added that there exists independent evidence, direct and apparently worthy of credit, which serves to limit the range of inquiry by proving that, unless we claim for our Ms. a date as early as the tenth century, we must place it in the latter part of the twelfth, no intermediate term being admissible. The record of the life of John, Bishop of Marde

* This Simeon seems to have been the Simeon who wrote the liturgical Ms. (cursive, on paper) Add. 14690 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 205). Another instance tending to show that trained scribes were a very limited body is worth noting. The British Museum copy (7184 Rich) of the great *Commentary* of Barsalibi on the Gospels (A. Gr. 1205) is, as I find on examination, the work of the same scribe, Matthew son of John, who eight years earlier (A.D. 1197) had written the copy of the same in the Library of T.C.D. (B. 2. 9). Both are cursive, on "cotton paper."

† Since the above was written, I have observed in the Bodleian Library a Ms. (vellum) of Lives of Saints, dated A. Gr. 1488 (A.D. 1177), in a similar estrangelo, the work of two scribes, of whom one is of Kephar-Salta (see above, No. 46, p. 369), its owner being nephew of the Bishop of Tur'abdin. (See Payne Smith's *Catal.*, col. 543.)

(who died A.D. 1165), derived from his own autobiographical memoranda (*ap.* Assem., *B.O.*),* assures us that when he entered on his see (A.D. 1125) he found the convents of Tur'abdin as well as of his own diocese deserted, in ruins or alienated, so that "there was not a monk left," and all knowledge of monastic institutions had ceased. And his panegyrist informs us that of the convents which he rebuilt and reopened, and refurnished with books and requisites, some had lain waste two or even three hundred years. This state of things in Marde and its suffragan dioceses, our authority attributes to the troublous times, the changes of rule—frequent and violent, as other writers testify—through which the cities of these parts, and the convents with them, had passed during the period referred to; and in which, no doubt, Tur'abdin and its convents shared. Even allowing for some exaggeration as to the extent of the desolation alleged, and its duration, these statements make it highly improbable that a Ms. executed in a Tur'abdinese convent belongs to the earlier years of the twelfth century, or to the eleventh. They serve also to account for the large family of late twelfth-century Mss. executed in northern Mesopotamia, which is represented by the extant specimens I have described above; due, no doubt, to the restoration of the Jacobite convents and churches in which this John of Marde was the precursor of the work done by Barsalibi and by Michael the Great.

I have gone to tedious length, and perhaps into over-minute detail, in the foregoing investigation of the age of our Ms., and of the peculiarities of handwriting, and notes of places and persons, which may supply its want of date. But I have thought it worth while to record the results of my researches for the sake of the light which I hope they will be found to throw on the palæography of a little studied but not unimportant period of the literary activity of the Jacobite Church of the East. The attention of Syriac scholars and palæographers has naturally been drawn rather to the documents of higher age and value with which the Nitrian Collection abounds; and the result has been that the later Mss. have hardly been examined with the care which their interest and importance deserve.

* II., pp. 216, 220–223, 228.

Two farther points may be noticed here, as independent confirmations of the view that the twelfth century is the earliest to which our Ms. may safely be assigned.

(1) For the first, I turn back to the final note appended to our Ms. It was written, as this note informs us, in a convent near Ṣalach "in the country of Tur'abdin, in the dominion [*or* principality, = ܫܘܠܛܢܐ, *shultono*] of Ḥesn-Kipha." It belongs therefore to a time when Ḥesn-Kipha was politically the capital of, and gave its name to, a district containing or coinciding with the region known locally and ecclesiastically as Tur'abdin. Now it is certain that at the close of the twelfth century such was the position of Ḥesn-Kipha. For in the place where it is first mentioned in the *Chron. Eccles.*,* we read (A.D. 1200) of a *Shalito* (ܫܠܝܛܐ) of Ḥesn-Kipha who ruled in Tur'abdin, and who is distinguished from the *Shalito* or "Lord" (ܡܪܝܐ) of Amid, from the *Shalito* or "Lord" of Marde, and from the "Lord" of Melitene.† This title *Shalito* is correlative to the cognate noun *shultono* in our note, and explains the employment of that noun in the not very usual sense of a *district*, geographical or political,—its proper meaning being the abstract one of *power* or *authority*. From the *Annals* of Abulfeda we learn that this *Shalito* was of the Turcoman family of the Ortokids, sprung from Socman son of Ortok, into whose possession Ḥesn-Kipha came, A.D. 1101, and by whose descendants it was held until and after the close of the twelfth century.‡ Previously it had belonged to the Lords of Diarbekr;§ and though as a fortress of unusual strength it must always have been an important place, it does not appear to have been the seat of a ruler, or to have ranked as the capital even of a vassal principality, until the Ortokids got it into their hands, rebuilt it, and made it their residence.‖ It is probable, therefore, that this note, in which Tur'abdin is described as being "in the *shultono* of Ḥesn-Kipha," was written in the time of the Ortokid rulers,—that is, not earlier than the twelfth century.

(2) The second indication pointing in the same direction is to be gathered from the contents of the Ms. and their arrangement. It not

* I. 91, c. 611. † *Ib.*, cc. 607, 613. ‡ Tom. III., p. 336 and *passim* (Adler).
§ *Ib.*, tom. II., p. 568. ‖ Taylor, *Travels* (*J. R. G. S.* as above, p. 356, note), p. 32.

only incorporates in the New Testament the four Catholic Epistles of the "Pococke" version, which are not in the Peshitto, but (as we have seen) places them as in Greek copies and in the Græcizing Harklensian,—2 Peter after 1 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Jude after 1 John,—thus treating them as being completely on a par with the other three. Now the only Ms. extant which contains these Epistles, and can be assigned with certainty to a time earlier than the twelfth century, is Add. 14623 of the British Museum, dated A.Gr. 1134 (A.D. 823). This Ms. ranges the Seven Catholic Epistles, as of equal authenticity, in the order, 1, 2, 3 John; 1, 2 Peter; Jude: but it is only a book of miscellanies and may be set aside as not properly entering into the scope of our inquiry. The few Syriac New Testament Mss. which include the four in question place them usually together, after the three of the Peshitto. This is so in all the copies which seem to be as old as our Ms., or older,—namely, Add. 14473 (Acts and Catholic Epistles),* the Cambridge New Testament, Oo. i. 2,† and the Paris New Testament, No. 29 [*Suppl.* 27].‡ None of these can be reckoned earlier than the eleventh century (all three being undated); and the two latter are apparently of the twelfth, presenting the same type of estrangelo, with the same characteristic peculiarities, as our Ms. and the similar Mss. treated of above. Even Wetstein's Ms. of the Acts and Epistles (Amsterdam No. 184—see my former Paper, p. 314), written so late as A.D. 1470, separates the four from the three. Williams's New Testament Ms. (Utica, U. S. A.), written A.D. 1471, which arranges them in their Greek order, is the earliest *dated* Syriac Biblical Ms. which so places them; but 7162 Rich, undated but probably of the fourteenth century, follows the same arrangement.§ In the face of these facts, it

* This Ms. is composite; consisting of (1) a very early copy of the Acts and (Peshitto) Catholic Epistles; (2) a copy of the four minor Catholic Epistles, in a clumsy angular estrangelo, perhaps of eleventh century.

† I believe the most competent authorities assign this Ms. as I have ventured to do, to the twelfth century.

‡ I find No. 29 exhibits every token of affinity with the group of Paris Mss. above described. Its date is uncertain, the last leaves being lost; but it is set down by Zotenberg as of twelfth century.

§ I have given a summary account of these Mss. in *Hermathena* for 1890 (vol. xvi. pp. 285–9),

would be unsafe to assign a date earlier than the twelfth century to a New Testament Ms. arranged in an order of which no other example can be found in that century, nor at any time prior to the fourteenth.

I proceed now to give an account of those portions of the Ms. which, as being of special interest, and bearing on the subject of my former Paper, I have examined with care and collated,—those namely which it exhibits in common with the Ussher Ms., but which it alone, so far as I know, among Syriac Mss. (excluding transcripts made in Europe, or for European use), embodies in the New Testament as an integral part of it,—the Four Minor Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse.

Of the position these Epistles occupy in the Crawford Ms., I have treated above. The facts as there stated make it probable that this is to be regarded as being the earliest among extant Syriac Mss. to recognize them on equal terms with the other Epistles, with no note of doubt attached to them save what may be implied in the omission (above noticed, p. 351) to include them in the series of sections or of lessons. This omission, however, merely indicates that these sections and lessons were arranged for the Peshitto text only. I may note, however, that the beginning and end of 2 Peter, and the beginning of 2 John, are in our Ms. distinguished by an ornament gaudily coloured in red, yellow, green, and blue, and that preparation seems to have been made for a similar one at

and of all Mss. then known to me as containing these Epistles. I have since learnt that they are also to be found in a Ms. (No. 5) in the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, appended by a very late hand to a very early copy of the Pauline Epistles. I owe this information to the kindness of the late lamented Professor Bensly, who was so good as to communicate it to me in a letter written from Egypt on his way home, a few weeks before his untimely removal by death from the labours from which so much was expected by all who feel interest in the Syriac language, literature, and antiquities.

Since the above was written, Mr. F. C. Burkitt has kindly sent me an account of an Arabic Ms. discovered recently by him in the same convent. It is apparently of the ninth century, and contains the Acts and Catholic Epistles, in their Greek order, translated, as the internal evidence proves, from the Syriac,—the Acts and three longer Epistles from the Peshitto, the four shorter from the "Pococke" version. If we are to infer that the Syriac copy, whence this translation was made, followed the same order, the force of the argument of paragraph (2) is much weakened by this discovery.

the end of Jude. These ornaments however can hardly be supposed to have any relation to the question of the canonicity of these Epistles, for one of like pattern is placed before 2 Timothy—an Epistle which forms an unquestioned part of the Peshitto. It is worth while to mention also that we here find 1 Peter and 1 John described in their subscriptions, though not in their superscriptions, as "the *first* epistle of Peter," "the *first* epistle of John"; whereas in Syriac Mss. they are usually entitled simply "the epistle of Peter," "the epistle of John." This is a farther recognition of the claim of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John to rank with 1 Peter and 1 John in the canon. For the text of these Epistles the highest authority is, presumably, the copy contained in the Nitrian volume above mentioned, Add. 14623,* which is no doubt the oldest by three or four hundred years. But I find that our Ms. gives them with an accuracy hardly, if at all, inferior to it, and certainly inferior to no other.† With the great Cambridge Ms. and the Paris Ms. No. 29, above referred to, it forms a group of three apparently contemporaneous (twelfth-century) copies of good character, and of the three it is the best. Like the Nitrian Ms., it omits the negative before εὑρεθήσεται in 2 Pet. iii. 10; and in many other places it confirms that Ms. where it witnesses against the mistakes of the text of Pococke or of the Polyglots. I have even noted a few places where its text is free from errors into which the older Ms. falls. Thus it correctly writes (supported only by the Paris and Cambridge copies), ܬܝܡܝܐ (τίμια), for ܬܝܡܐܪ (τιμάς), in 2 Pet. i. 4; and in Jude 7, it stands alone in giving the true reading, ܕܝܢܓܡܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ (δεῖγμα πυρός), for ܕܝܢ ܢܘܪܐ (ὑπὸ πῦρ).

I pass now to the Apocalypse, which I have reserved for the last in this account of the Ms., though in so doing I deviate from the order in which the Ms. itself arranges its contents. I have done so, partly because to place the Apocalypse last is with us so habitual as to seem natural; but

* In this Ms. we find "the *first* of Peter," "the *first* of John," in the superscriptions and subscriptions alike.

† I have collated all the accessible copies of this version of the Epistles (sixteen more or less complete), and have printed a summary of the results in *Hermathena*, xvi., as above referred to.

mainly for convenience' sake, because there is very much more to be said of the Apocalypse as given in this Ms. than of any other part of its contents. Of the rarity of copies of this Book in Syriac, I have treated in my former Paper (pp. 300 sqq.). I have there stated that only two complete copies of it were available—that of Leyden (late sixteenth-century), and that of Dublin (early seventeenth). I have now to add that the older copy of the same—the only really ancient one hitherto recorded—that of the Nitrian Ms., Add. 17127,* which I have since transcribed, proves on examination not to contain, and never to have contained, a continuous and complete text of the book. Not only has it lost i. 1–6, and xiv. 6, 7, and part of 8, the first leaf and leaf 82 having perished, but after xiv. 11, no chapter is given in full; so that of the last six chapters but fourteen verses appear, chap. xx. being altogether passed over. This being so, it was welcome tidings to me to learn from Mr. Gwilliam of a Ms. of considerable antiquity, certainly many centuries older than the Leyden and Dublin copies, which exhibited the Apocalypse entire, and not like those Mss. and the Nitrian Ms. in a separate form, but ranked among the books of the New Testament. The place assigned to it in the volume, moreover, immediately after the Gospel of that Evangelist to whom as author the Church ascribes it, was in itself a fact of special interest to me. In the Paper I have referred to above, I had raised the question, Where would a Syriac New Testament place the Apocalypse? and I had suggested (p. 302) as a possible answer, that it would stand after the books of the Peshitto canon, with the Four Minor Catholic Epistles but before them. But in a note added some weeks later, after an examination at Amsterdam of Wetstein's Ms. of the latter half of the Syriac New Testament, I ventured to offer (p. 316) what I then regarded as a hazardous guess, that in the missing former half of that volume the Apocalypse may have been subjoined to the four Gospels. Not long after, my attention was caught by the fact that in the *Short Commentary* of

* In this Ms., though it is earlier than the North-Mesopotamian group above discussed by a century, similar characteristic forms are found to prevail. It does not, however, resemble them in its general style and aspect, and is singularly destitute of points of any sort. It was written in Egypt by a Jacobite Syrian monk, Samuel, from Ma'adan. See Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1020.

Barsalibi on the latter Books of the New Testament, which though inedited is extant in two Mss. (7185 Rich, and Bodl. Or. 560, the latter much mutilated*), this is the order actually observed—the Apocalypse preceding the Acts and Epistles. This fact seemed to me to give some definite ground for the conjecture which I had previously suggested as barely worth considering, and led me to admit it as probable that such would prove to be the normal Syriac arrangement of the Books.† It was to me, therefore, a matter of satisfaction rather than of surprise to find that such was the arrangement followed in this the only complete Syriac New Testament that as yet is known to have been brought from the East into Europe.‡

But a much more important result was shortly after obtained from this Ms.,—a result which gave me not merely the satisfaction of another conjecture verified, but (what is immeasurably more valuable) the discovery of an important accession to the materials for the critical determination of the text of that Book of the New Testament for which such materials are least abundant. Mr. Gwilliam, in July, 1887, before I had seen the Ms., was so good as to send me a collation of its text of the Four Minor Epistles, and with it a collation of the opening chapters of the Apocalypse. In a previous letter he had informed me that "the variations are many and great," between this Ms. and the current printed text of these *Antilegomena*,—as compared with the other New Testament Books. On examining his record of its variations in the Apocalypse, it appeared

* See for these Mss. R. F., *Catal.*, p. 71; Payne Smith, *Catal.*, p. 415; also pp. 409, 410, of *Hermathena*, No. xiv.

† Probably the Old Latin version, at least in its African form, followed a like order. In the Fleury Palimpsest it appears that the Apocalypse stood before the Acts, and that the Epistles came last. See Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, p. 12 (Paris, 1889).

‡ I take the opportunity here of noting that the note to p. 274 of my former Paper, in which I have stated "that no Ms. of the whole N. T. in Syriac is now known to exist," needs to be qualified as above, by limiting it to Mss. of Oriental origin. The fifth and last volume of the complete copy of the Syriac Bible in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Zotenberg 1–5, *Suppl.* 75) is occupied by the Books of the New Testament, complete, in their Greek order; the Apocalypse, in the version given in the printed editions, of course coming last. But this copy was written in Paris, A.D. 1695, many years after the publication of the Paris and London Polyglots.

to me that they were remarkable not only in their number and degree, but in the peculiar common character which marked a large proportion of them,—so strongly as to suggest the belief, or at least the surmise, that the text which exhibited them was not that of the version hitherto known, but of a distinct though cognate version, written in Syriac of a more idiomatic type. In my Paper of 1886 (p. 310) I had speculated on the possibility that such a version existed and had served as basis for the other,—in the same way as the "Pococke" text of the Four Epistles is the basis of the Harklensian version of those Epistles. And I had called attention to a passage from Rev. vii. (1–8), which stands as No. 34 in an inedited Syriac book of Extracts in the British Museum (Add. 17193, fo. 14 *v°*), noted by Wright (*Catal.*, p. 992), as "not according to the ordinary version";—and had ventured to suggest that this extract might be not a version of a Greek fragment, but—a fragment of a Syriac version,—presumably the supposed basis-version. I lost no time therefore in putting this conjecture to the test: I sent Mr. Gwilliam a complete copy of the extract in question (which I had transcribed some time before in the British Museum), begging him to compare it with the corresponding part of the Apocalypse as given in the Crawford Ms. The agreement between the two texts proved to be absolute, in all points where both vary from the printed version; while *inter se* they vary only in a few minute points, such as may usually be detected in comparing any two copies of the same original.* Since then, I have had Lord Crawford's Ms. in my hands (as I have stated above) for many months, and have transcribed from it the entire Apocalypse, comparing it as I proceeded with the text of the common version as printed by De Dieu and in the Polyglots, and also with the two inedited Mss. of the same,—that of the British Museum (Add. 17127), and Ussher's, T.C.D., B. 5, 16.

This careful study of the text enables me to state the following conclusions as established beyond doubt:

(I.) That the two versions are distinct,—the difference which Wright

* The other Syriac fragment of the Apocalypse (xvii. 3–6) mentioned by me in the same Paper (*ib.*) attributed to Jacob of Edessa, proves on comparison with the Crawford version to differ from it as widely as from the printed text.

perceived in the extract from chap. vii. being observable throughout,—a difference in literary style and linguistic character; the Crawford version being idiomatic and free, the other Græcized and servilely literal.

(II.) That the difference reaches yet deeper, and extends to the underlying Greek text; the instances being numerous where, the Greek authorities being divided, our two Syriac versions take opposite sides.

(III.) That at the same time they are, though distinct, not independent; the relation between them being such that one must have served as basis for the other.

These propositions I state with full confidence that no one who compares the two texts will ever call them in question. And with hardly less confidence I add, as a further conclusion,—

(IV.) That of the two the Crawford version is the earlier, the other being founded on it, and in fact a revision of it.

(I. and II.) To establish the first and second of these conclusions, it is only necessary to refer to the examples subjoined to this Paper (Appendix A, notes *a* to *f*; and B, notes *a*, *b*, *c*), as illustrative of the nature and extent of the differences by which the versions are distinguished from one another: (A) in diction, (B) as regards the implied readings of the Greek text underlying them.

(A). Under the former head, the results may be briefly summed up by repeating in a sentence the epithets I have already used: the Crawford version is idiomatic, while the other is Græcized. In the former, Greek words are very rarely transliterated, more rarely than even in the Peshitto;—never, unless the Syriac supplies no adequate rendering: in the latter, words so translatable as γωνία, ζώνη, θρόνος, φιάλη, are written in Syriac letters.* In the former, the Syriac idiom and *ordo verborum* are never supplanted by the Greek, as they consistently are in the latter. More particularly: in the Crawford version, the possessive pronoun is as a rule rendered by a suffix, and but rarely (where emphasis

* Adler has remarked (*N. T. Verss. Syr.*, p. 78) that transliteration is rarely used in the printed version of the Apocalypse: but a careful examination will show that, on the contrary, it is habitual. See below, Appx. A, note *f*.

is required) as a separate word formed by the particle ܕܠ with a suffix attached; the definite article is not represented by the illegitimate substitution of the third personal pronoun, but omitted, or (if necessary) legitimately expressed by the use of the *status emphaticus* of the noun, which is not allowed to supplant the *status absolutus*;* the use of the *status constructus*† is habitual in a large class of cases; the ordinal numbers as a rule (with one significant exception, to be noted presently) are expressed by prefixing ܐ to the cardinals, and not by adjectival forms. In all these respects the usage of our version is that of the Peshitto, the earlier and genuinely Syriac usage,—as opposed to the method of the other version, which is that of the Harklensian, introduced as it seems (or at least systematically adopted for the first time) by Thomas of Harkel and his contemporary and fellow-translator of the Bible, Paul of Tella, in the first quarter of the seventh century; the method which attempts to mould the reluctant Syriac into conformity with the Greek,—as (*e.g.*) by expressing the possessive pronoun separately; by turning the third personal pronoun into a definite article; by obliterating the distinctive force of the *status emphaticus*; by ceasing to employ the *status constructus*; and by the uniform use of numeral adjectives to express the ordinals:—on the whole, by a general substitution, so far as practicable, of the alien Greek idiom, and even Greek words, where Syriac would have served at least as well. By this method the Harklensian and, following it, the closely allied Syriac version of the Apocalypse (as printed) attain a high standard of verbal fidelity, with nearly uniform representation of each Greek word by one and the same equivalent: while the version of the Crawford Ms., following the freer method of the Peshitto, endeavours more intelligently, and often with marked success, to render the different shades of meaning assumed by any given Greek word in different contexts, by varying the Syriac equivalent accordingly—so far as the resources of the Syriac language permit.‡ Thus we are amply justified in asserting that the Crawford version is distinguished from the other, not merely by numerous and characteristic points of linguistic usage, but by a fundamental difference of method, indicating a different

* See Appx. A, note *d*. † See Appx. A, note *e*. ‡ See Appx. A, note *b*.

translator with a different and juster conception of what a translation ought to be.

(B). Under the second head, in addition to the ample evidence of independence of text yielded by the appended collection of variants (Appx. B, notes *a*, *b*, *c*), I have to state the following results of a comparison between the two versions:

(*a*). There are very many instances where the Crawford version represents readings of the Greek differing from those followed by the other version, and from the majority of other authorities,—sometimes from all of them.*

(*b*). In a considerable number of these peculiar readings, it is supported by some one or more of the most weighty authorities:†—among the uncials, frequently by Cod. Sinaiticus (not seldom against all else), and sometimes by Cod. Alexandrinus; among cursives, by the exceptionally good copies, 36, 38, 79, 95; among versions, by the Old Latin of Primasius and Cod. Floriacensis (*h*) and that of Cod. Gigas (*g*), and by the Vulgate.

(*c*). More generally: the cases where the two versions yield decisive evidence as between (on the one hand) the reading supported by the weight of older authorities, and (on the other) that of the bulk of the cursives, usually with the uncial Cod. Basileensis [Q—Tischendorf's B] heading them, are in number over 220. In not less than 140 of these cases, the two versions are on the same side; the remaining cases, about 80—nearly three-eighths of the whole number—are a measure (though not a full measure) of the extent to which the Greek copies used by the two translators varied *inter se.* It is to be added that of the two, the Crawford version more frequently agrees with the text of the older Greek MSS.—in nearly fifty of these cases, as against little more than thirty of the other version (five-eighths of the whole).‡

Thus the internal evidence, as exhibited in the appended notes, establishes beyond doubt that the two versions are the production of two

* See Appx. B, note *b*.

† See Appx. B, note *c*.

‡ See Appx. B. note *a*, for a list of 55 of the above 80 cases, in more than five-eighths of which the Crawford version is on the side of the older authorities.

translators, working by different methods, and with different aims, on two distinct Greek originals.

III. But a farther examination into the versions establishes also, and with equal certainty, the close affinity subsisting between them,—so close as to indicate that the second translator must have had before him not only his independent Greek text, but also the work of his predecessor.

This affinity is twofold,—(A) linguistic, (B) textual.

To deal with the latter head (B) first. Instances where the two versions agree in readings which have an appreciable amount of other support are, of course, indecisive,—for in such cases the agreement may well have been in the Greek copies used by the two translators. But readings in which they agree against all other extant authorities, or which have but faint and obscure evidence elsewhere, cannot well be accounted for except by the supposition that they have passed into the later of the two versions from the prior one. Such cases are not infrequent, as the list given in Appendix B, note *d*, attests. Moreover, I find that, on the whole, the instances where the Crawford version is supported by the other version are considerably more numerous than the instances when it is so supported by any other authority whatever;—a fact which cannot be supposed to be due to accident, or to any cause except the use by one translator of the previous work of the other.

Under the former head (A), the indications of affinity are no less marked. Not only are there many cases where whole passages in the two versions coincide in rendering with none but minute variations, but the coincidences often appear in their coincident use of rare words and unfamiliar expressions. Thus, both render *μετρῶ* by ܡܫܚ (xi. 1 and elsewhere); *χάραγμα* by ܩܥܬܐ (xiii. 16 and elsewhere); *γνώμη* by ܪܥܝܢܐ (xvii. 13, 17 *bis*);—in each case contrary to the usage of the Peshitto New Testament and with but partial countenance from the Harklensian: and also *πονηρός* by ܒܝܫܐ* (xvi. 2, instead of ܒܝܫܬܐ), a form unrecorded in the Lexicons. Moreover (what is of special weight), it is observable that where the common version departs from its usual habit of uniform rendering, the variation it adopts proves on examination

* So in the Nitrian MS. (Add. 17127).

to have its counterpart in an identical variation in the Crawford version. Thus, both versions render δεύτερος by ܬܢܝܢܝܐ in the four places where it is an epithet of θάνατος (ii. 11; xx. 6, 14; xxi. 8), and not elsewhere;* both render βάλλω by ܫܕܪ once only (vi. 13), elsewhere by ܪܡܐ, ܫܕܪ; both render σκηνῶ by ܫܪܐ once only (vii. 15), elsewhere by ܫܪܐ; both render καπνός by ܥܫܢܐ once only (viii. 4), elsewhere by ܬܢܢܐ; both render θεραπεύω by ܦܠܚ once (xiii. 3), but by ܫܠܡ in the only other instance where it occurs (xiii. 12); both render δίκαιος by ܙܕܝܩ twice only (xv. 3; xix. 2), elsewhere by ܙܕܩ; both render κόκκινος by ܩܪܡܙܝܢܐ once only (xvii. 3), elsewhere by ܩܪܡܙܝܢܐ; both render κρατῶ by ܐܚܙܝ once only (xx. 2), elsewhere by ܐܚܙ; both render σφραγίζω by ܚܬܡ once only (xx. 15), elsewhere by ܚܬܡ.

Thus we have two independent lines of evidence—that of the readings of the underlying Greek, and that of the diction of the Syriac,—both irresistibly leading to the same conclusion, that we have here two versions so closely akin that the one must be regarded as a revision of the other, wrought on the basis of the other; yet so far distinct that the later of the two must have been the work of a reviser who had a method of his own, and used an independent Greek Ms. or Mss.

IV. Which then of the two versions is the original, and which the revision?

The answer can hardly be doubtful. It is, of course, possible that a version of baldly literal character, marked by unidiomatic phrases, and by transliteration of words such as bespeaks the perplexities of an unskilled translator, might be rehandled in the interests of linguistic purity by a reviser, as Jerome rehandled the Old Latin Gospels. But the case now under our consideration is not such a one. Of the two versions we are comparing, the one which is servilely literal is no work of a rude and unlearned age; it is literal with the literalness not of unskilful simplicity, but of scholarly, or rather pedantic, accuracy: not the literalness of the Old Latin, nor of the Curetonian Syriac, but that of the

* This is the only ordinal rendered adjectively (see above, p. 382) in the Crawford version. In these places, *second* has more than a mere numerical force: elsewhere, it renders this ordinal, like the rest, by the cardinal with prefix; the other versions, by a different adjectival form.

version to which, as I have already said, it is obviously and unmistakably affiliated,—the Harklensian. To claim priority for such a version, and to suppose the Crawford version to be a recension of it with the diction restored to vernacular propriety, and the text modified by the help of an independent Greek copy, is inadmissible—as inadmissible as it would be to conclude that the version of the Seventy is posterior to that of Aquila because he renders the Hebrew word for word where they use the Greek idiom; or to that of Theodotion because he writes *θεννίν* where they give *σείρηνες*, and so forth. I have little doubt that the verdict of every competent critic who compares the two versions will be, that the freer and more truly vernacular one is the earlier, and that the other, with its careful reproduction of Greek idioms, its frequent adoption of Greek words, and its studious endeavour to represent each word of the original by a uniform equivalent, is the later—is in fact an elaborate recension of the former, executed by a scholar who displays industry indeed, but no full mastery of the spirit of his text or of the resources of his own language, or adequate apprehension of the translator's functions.

But over and above these general considerations, I have some special facts to adduce, which seem to give powerful confirmation to the verdict I have thus ventured to anticipate.

(*a*). The first I would mention is the fact above touched on,—that in the exceptional cases such as I have cited, where the printed version deviates from its principle of uniformity of rendering, it is usually found to agree with a varied rendering given by the Crawford version. Such coincident variations are naturally to be explained as instances where the language of the version which habitually varies has been by oversight allowed to pass unchanged into the version which is habitually uniform; and they are only to be accounted for, so far as I can see, by assuming *that* to be the original version, and *this* to be a revision of it.

(*b*). So again in another matter,—that of the transliteration which I have noted as characteristic of the printed version. In one case it deviates from its habit in this respect, giving for *χιλίαρχοι* (vi. 15, xix. 18) ܟܠܝܪܟܐ [ܐܠܦܐ] ܐܠܦܐ, where the Crawford version has the almost identical rendering, ܟܠܝܪܟܐ ܐܠܦܐ. This is specially remarkable, seeing that

the Peshitto always (as the Harklensian usually) transliterates this word (ܐܝܠܝܢܐ). Thus in this single instance the influence of the Crawford version on the other is doubly betrayed—by the fact of translation in lieu of transliteration, and by the employment of the *status constructus*, which, as above noticed, the Crawford version affects (especially in rendering compounds), and the other, for the most part, avoids.

(*c*). This instance leads me to mention another in which it would have been well for the reputation of the printed version if the translator had fallen back on his usual expedient of transliterating, and had forborne to attempt a vernacular representation of a compound word. It is that of ἀετοῦ πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι (viii. 13), of which, as I have stated in my former Paper (p. 307), he gives the unhappy perversion, "an eagle flying in the midst, *which had a tail of blood*" (as if he had read, ἐν μέσῳ οὐρὰν αἵματι [ἔχοντος]). He however corrects his blunder in part by dropping the "*tail*" at xiv. 6, and completely at xix. 17, these being the only places in which the word μεσουρανήματι recurs. In the Crawford version the word is rendered *heaven*, or *mid-heaven*, in all three places. Now it is noteworthy that J. D. Michaelis, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, written more than a hundred years ago, noticing that this misrendering appears in the earlier part of the Book and disappears from the later, ventured to account for the fact by conjecturing that the printed version was based on an earlier one. He writes as follows*:—"Another circumstance which corroborates the opinion that there existed two or even more [Syriac] translations of this book [the Revelation] is that the above-mentioned μεσουράνημα is translated properly in the latter half of the book, in the former half improperly. . . . . It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that there were two or more translations, and that one was interpolated from [he ought rather to have said, 'based on'] the other; and, if I am not mistaken, the proper translation of μεσουράνημα is to be referred to the more ancient version, and the latter to that of Philoxenus [by which he means the printed one of which he is treating]." Whether Michaelis in this matter argued logically, I am not concerned to inquire; his forecast, verified as it has

* *Introd.*, vol. II., pt. i., ch. vii., s. x., 4th ed. [Marsh's translation].

now been after the lapse of a century by the discovery of the version exhibited by our Ms., is unquestionably a conspicuous example of critical sagacity. And the fact that so acute a scholar was led, by examination of the version known to him, to divine the existence of a prior version free from the gross blemish in question, may surely be claimed as a farther argument in favour of the priority of the version which has thus come to light in fulfilment of his anticipations.

(*d*). Again, the Leyden Ms., whence De Dieu printed his text, yields farther evidence of the posteriority of the version it contains. In a supplementary Note (II.) appended to my former Paper (page 314), I have called attention to the fact, unnoticed by De Dieu and, so far as I know, by other critics, that in nearly forty cases asterisks are inserted in this copy, such as in Harklensian Mss. are employed to note places where a doubt exists as to the insertion or omission of a word or sentence. I now find on comparing the Crawford text, that in a large majority of these cases, these asterisks may be accounted for as references to something omitted from or inserted in that text. The reference may no doubt be, in many of these cases, to some other authority; they may note variations found by the translator on the margin of his Greek copy, or observed by him in comparing copies if he had more than one. But there are a few instances which can hardly be accounted for except by supposing that the translator who inserted the asterisk had the Crawford version in view. Thus, v. 5, for *ἀνοῖξαι* (or *ὁ ἀνοίγων* as others have it) it seems that the author of the Crawford version read *ἀνοίξει*, which is recorded only in one Greek ms., where it is probably a misspelling of *ἀνοίξαι*; while the other version renders as if *αὐτὸς ἀνοίξει*, with an asterisk before the pronoun in the Leyden text. Again, viii. 9, both versions render as if *πάντων* (unknown to all other authorities) stood in the text before *τῶν κτισμάτων*; but the Leyden Ms. marks the equivalent of *πάντων* with an asterisk. Lastly, it prefixes an asterisk to the words *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ* in xix. 16; of which the only explanation is the very adequate one, that in the Crawford version, and in it alone, the copulative is omitted and the following noun is read in the plural;—a small variation, but involving a notable change of meaning. For,

according to this reading, the inscription, "King of kings and Lord of lords," is written—not "on His vesture and on His thigh," but—"on the vesture [that was] on His thighs." If then it is admitted, as I think it must be, that in these three instances the asterisks in question establish a relation between the two versions, they increase the probability that many (though not all) of the other asterisks are to be similarly interpreted, and that the version which is distinguished by them, is thus marked as being posterior to the other.

(*e*). It is to be added, that a few other signs exist which look as if, besides these asterisks, an *apparatus criticus* similar to that of the Harklensian version, with side-notes recording variants (*inter alia*), had formerly been attached to the version which is, as I have shown, so closely akin to the Harklensian in its style and diction;—some of which, surviving in the Ussher Ms., I have recorded in my former Paper (p. 306). None of the notes in that Ms., however, throws any light on our present inquiry. But on the margin of the Nitrian Ms. I find entered, over against the word (i. 10) ܒܚܕܐ (= *τῇ κυριακῇ*), the note ܒܚܕ ܫܒܬܐ, *i.e.*, ܒܚܕ ܫܒܬܐ (= *τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων*), by which words the Crawford version represents *τῇ κυριακῇ*. Instances occur also in the text of the printed version of conflate readings, apparently due to the intrusion into the text of marginal variants from the other version;—of which the most noteworthy is in viii. 12, where ܘܐܬܚܫܟܘ (= *καὶ ἐσκοτίσθησαν*), as in the Crawford text, is made to follow ܕܢܬܚܫܟ ܕܢܬܚܫܟ* (= *ἵνα σκοτισθῇ*, the usual reading), to the destruction of grammar and meaning alike. The former reading has little if any authority except that of the Crawford version, and was in all probability derived from it by the other. Yet this may have been the doing of a scribe, and not of the translator; and therefore I do not urge it. But in the inedited *Commentary* of Barsalibi, who used for his text the version which I seek to prove to be the later one, I find many signs of a knowledge of the renderings of the Crawford version. I will only mention a few. He cites the *κρυστάλλῳ* and *φιάλας* and *χρυσόλιθος*, of iv. 6, v. 8, and xxi. 20, in their transliterated form from the version

* So in the Nitrian and Leyden Mss.; in Ussher's, and the Polyglots, the interpolation is modified so as to save the grammar.

he follows, but he explains them by the Syriac words ܚܠܨܐ, and ܐܒܕܢܐ, and ܟܐܦ ܕܡܫܒܩ, (the first probably a misrendering, the second a rare word) used by the Crawford translator. And so in treating of the name Ἀπολλύων (ix. 11), though in his text he writes it as transliterated, he gives on the margin as explanations the alternatives ܡܚܒܠܐ ܐܘ ܡܫܪܝܐ (*Destroyer* or *Releaser*), the latter being the Crawford rendering (following the variant ἀπολύων). Such instances may perhaps indicate that Barsalibi had access to a copy of this version;—or that his copy of the other version was furnished with marginal readings derived from the former. The latter seems the more probable supposition; and if it be well founded, it materially strengthens the grounds for believing that such an apparatus of *marginalia* was (as in case of the Harklensian) an original adjunct to the version which they accompanied—in fact, an integral part of the translator's work—and therefore that the version so annotated was dependent on and posterior to the version which furnished part at least of the annotations.

Nay, further, in the body of the printed version there are to be found, if I mistake not, unquestionable traces of the other which the second translator (or reviser) has by inadvertence allowed to remain. Four such I will instance.

(*a*). For τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης, the Crawford version reads (iii. 10), τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τοῦ μέλλοντος (ܕܢܣܝܢܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ), omitting τῆς ὥρας and making the participle agree with the remaining noun, which in Syriac and in Greek alike is masculine. The other version restores τῆς ὥρας, but leaves the participle unchanged in gender, though the restored noun (ܫܥܬܐ) is feminine in Syriac as in Greek. But no authority supports the reading τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τοῦ μέλλοντος, and the Crawford text is the sole authority for τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τοῦ μέλλοντος (without τῆς ὥρας). The inference therefore is, that the second translator, having his predecessor's work before him, corrected it from his Greek copy so far as to insert ܫܥܬܐ, but neglected to change the participle ܥܬܝܕ into the feminine ܥܬܝܕܬ.

(*b*). The word ܫܘܝܐ (= ἄνεμος) is sometimes masculine, but more usually feminine. In the printed version, vii. 1, where ἀνέμους and ἄνεμος occur,

the former is rendered as feminine, as shown by the numeral accompanying it, the latter as masculine, being followed by a masculine verb. The masculine verb is also used in the Crawford version, but the numeral is so expressed as to leave the gender of ܐܢܝܡܘܢ (= ἀνέμους) indeterminate. The inconsistency as to gender in the printed version is thus accounted for: the second translator, in dealing with the Crawford rendering, altered the form expressing the numeral (which is one that he usually avoids); in so doing he treated ܐܢܝܡܘܢ as feminine; but forgot to alter the gender of the verb which, in the next sentence, marks ܐܢܝܡܘܢ as masculine.

(*c*). For ἵνα μή τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι (xiii. 17), the Crawford translator writes ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܢܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܢܙܒܢ = ἵνα μή τις ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλήσαι (optative), which reading, though unrecorded elsewhere, he probably found in his Greek copy. The other version brings this into conformity with the usual Greek text by inserting ܡܬܟܠܐ (= δύνηται) after ܕܠܐ, but has neglected to prefix ܕ to the following verb as the grammar requires.

(*d*). In xviii. 4, all authorities read ἐξέλθετε .... ἵνα μὴ συγκοινωνήσητε ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῆς, καὶ ἵνα μὴ λάβητε ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς αὐτῆς,—except the Crawford version which omits the καί. This is not a casual or purposeless omission, for it is emphasized by the rendering of the second ἵνα μή differently from the first, with the purpose apparently of marking the second clause as subordinate to, not coordinate with, the first: ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ... ܕܠܐ ܬܩܒܠܘܢ = "that ye be not partakers .... *that so* ye receive not". The other version restores the copulative, but retains the variation in rendering ἵνα μή, though that variation loses all meaning when the two clauses are thus coupled on equal terms. Here then again we seem to detect the hand of a reviser, correcting the version of a prior translator by aid of a Greek text, but failing to harmonize his correction with the language of that version.

It appears then that examination into details confirms, so far as it has gone, and gives ground to expect that farther examination will more fully confirm, the impression made by a general survey and comparison of these two versions. It tends to prove that the version which is characterized by freedom, spontaneity, and vernacular strength, the version

whose diction is cast in a more archaic mould, and which represents a Greek text of more archaic type, is of the two the earlier work—the production of a translator working at first-hand on the original: and that the other—artificial, laboured, and servile—is a subsequent revision of it by a scholar who recast it after strict rules of uniformity and accuracy, into a forced compliance with the Greek idiom.

I now proceed to inquire into the probable age and origin of this version of the Apocalypse,—as they may be inferred from evidence—(1°) external; (2°) internal.

(1°). The *external* evidence is undeniably scanty, and at first sight might seem, so far as it goes, to point to a recent date for the version, seeing that it is found only in a Ms. written probably (as I have endeavoured to show) not earlier than the close of the twelfth century. But a *prima facie* presumption such as this seldom carries much force, and is always liable to be displaced by further investigation, bringing new facts to light. In the present case the presumption against the antiquity of the version is greatly weakened when the state of its text as exhibited in the Ms. is examined. It shows distinct signs of being much older than the Ms.—older by generations, perhaps by centuries. This portion of the Ms., though on the whole carefully and accurately written (like the rest of it), is not seldom disfigured by textual blunders due evidently not to the translator but to a scribe—the scribe of our Ms. or of one preceding it,—blunders consisting in the substitution of one Syriac word for another closely similar one, where no similarity exists between the corresponding Greek words,—blunders which therefore cannot be accounted for by any supposable misreading or misrendering of the Greek, but are indubitably mistakes made in transcribing the Syriac.* Farther, in some cases an attempt has been made, by change of interpunction, or insertion of prefixes, to force some meaning into the passages affected by these blunders. These attempts prove that the scribe who made them has been in some measure editor as well as copyist; that he had before him a text which

* See Appx. C.

came into his hands in such condition as to need editing, contained in a Ms. in parts imperfectly legible, or in a transcript unintelligently made from a Ms. imperfectly legible. This imperfect legibility of the archetype was mainly due (we may safely assume) to mere age—not to the wear and tear of much use, for the Apocalypse was little studied in the East, and was never read in public. Thus from the state of the text of our Ms. we infer that it was copied, immediately or mediately, from another Ms. of much higher antiquity. And in confirmation of this inference it is to be noted that the blunders I refer to are not scattered at random through the text, but tend to occur in groups,—a fact which suggests the explanation that the places where these groups occur are places where the archetype had suffered from accident or decay. I see reason, moreover, to believe that the first eight verses of the book do not belong to the same version as the rest of it, but have been supplied from the other version;* and this I regard as an indication that the first leaf of the archetype had been lost, or had become quite illegible. On these grounds it seems probable that the date of the archetype, and therefore (*a fortiori*) the date of the version, is very much more ancient than that of our Ms.

But another piece of evidence is at hand which enables us at once, definitely and with certainty, to carry the date of the version three centuries back. I have already mentioned the fragment, Rev. vii. 1–8, included in the (inedited) volume of miscellanies, Add. 17193 of the British Museum, which is indisputably an extract from our version. This Ms. bears date A. Gr. 1185 (A.D. 874), and thus gives us direct and conclusive proof that in the latter half of the ninth century the version in question was in existence, known and accessible to compilers of such collections.†

(2°). The *internal* evidence of the version itself, as obtained by comparing it with the other version, is of course quite independent of the external evidence of the documents as above stated, and seems to point distinctly to a still earlier date. The latter version, as I have shown, is to

* See Appendix D for the facts which lead to this conclusion.

† It is to be noted that, as regards the other version, the earliest evidence we have of its existence is the Ms. Add. 17127, above referred to, written A. Gr. 1399 (A.D. 1088).

be regarded as—if not actually part of the Harklensian New Testament—at least a Harklensian supplement, presumably added not long after the completion of the work of Thomas of Harkel in A.D. 616; to be assigned, therefore, to the seventh century. If I am right in my contention that, of these two undoubtedly cognate versions, the Crawford version is the earlier, and has supplied the basis on which the other is constructed, it follows that this version cannot be with probability assigned to a period later than the preceding century. If this be so, we have carried back its date,—as before, from the twelfth century to the ninth, so now again, three centuries farther—from the ninth century to the sixth.

So much for the age of this version: let us now consider whether we have any clue to its origin.

(*a*). To take the *internal* evidence first. In case of the printed version of the Apocalypse no student can fail to observe its Harklensian character above referred to; and hardly if at all less unmistakable is the affinity between the Crawford Apocalypse and the version of the Four minor Epistles known as the "Pococke." They belong unquestionably to one and the same period of the language when it still retained its fresh idiomatic vigour, and had not degenerated into the pedantically Graecized form imposed on it by the seventh-century translators. I confidently anticipate that any Syriac scholar who compares them will agree with me that they show such a general resemblance as is to be expected in versions made in one period by translators of one school of learning—not improbably by one and the same translator. Moreover, there are not wanting special points of coincidence between them, sufficient to confirm the theory of a common origin thus suggested by their general affinity in style and diction. In Appendix E I have put together the instances I have noted of agreement in rendering between the Crawford Apocalypse and the Pococke Epistles,—distinguishing (*a*) the cases in which the Pococke rendering is not retained by the Harklensian, and (*b*) the cases where the Harklensian exhibits the same rendering as the Pococke, though contrary to Harklensian usage elsewhere,—in

which, therefore, it may be presumed to have borrowed from the Pococke.*

(*b*). To this body of *internal* evidence is to be added the *external* evidence (quite independent, I again repeat, of the other) yielded by our Ms., in the fact that with this text of the Apocalypse it associates the Pococke text of the Four Minor Catholic Epistles, to form a complete Syriac New Testament. When Stephen the scribe and his collaborators thus supplemented the Peshitto by incorporating with it the Books of the New Testament Canon not comprised in it, the presumption is that the version whence they borrowed the Apocalypse was the same as that whence they borrowed these four Epistles.

Thus by a twofold line of probability we are led to conclude that the translator to whom we owe the Pococke Four Epistles, is also the author of the Crawford version of the Apocalypse. If then this conclusion be accepted, it follows finally that the Crawford Apocalypse is, as in my former Paper I have shown that the Pococke Epistles must be held to be, a portion of the version made for Philoxenus Metropolitan of Mabug, by Polycarpus the Chorepiscopus, A.D. 508,—which is known to have been the basis of the Harklensian, and is usually spoken of as the "original", or "unrevised", "Philoxenian".

To sum up the results of our investigations:

1. Of each of the two portions of the New Testament not included in the Peshitto,—viz., A, The Apocalypse; B, the Four Minor Catholic Epistles,—we have before us two Syriac versions.

2. As regards A, the newly-discovered version has by two centuries the earlier attestation (A.D. 874 as against A.D. 1088), belongs to an earlier stage of the language, and represents a Greek text of earlier type.

3. This version of A bears to the other a relation exactly similar, in its nature and extent, to that borne by the Pococke to the Harklensian version of B.

* In some instances the Crawford Apocalypse agrees also with the renderings of the (supposed) Philoxenian Esaias, (Brit. Mus., Add. 17106; see Ceriani's *Monumenta S. et P.*, tom. v., fasc. i).

4. This version of A is (moreover) closely akin, in style and diction, to the Pococke version of B; and it is in the Crawford Ms. associated with the Pococke B to supply the defect of the Peshitto.

5. The other version of A (the one hitherto known and printed) is, in like manner, and even more closely, akin to the Harklensian version of B. [It is to be added that, though not as yet found included in any New Testament Ms. with the Harklensian or any part of it, it is associated with the Harklensian B in the inedited *Commentary* of Barsalibi above referred to, pp. 378, 379, 389.]*

6. As regards B, the relation between the two versions has been proved to be, that the Harklensian is a revision of the Pococke,—the Pococke being a part of the "original" or "unrevised" Philoxenian.

7. It is therefore a natural and probable inference that, as regards A, the printed version (which is akin to the Harklensian) is a revision of the Crawford version (which is akin to the Pococke): and this inference is confirmed by direct comparison of the two.

8. And finally, that the Crawford version of A (the Apocalypse) is, like the Pococke version of B (the Four Epistles) a part of the Philoxenian proper, as made by Polycarpus, in the first decade of the sixth century.

* Against the identification of the printed version of the Apocalypse as part of the Harklensian, I know of but one valid objection, and that a negative one; that it is not included in the Cambridge Ms. (Add. 1700) of the Harklensian New Testament. Its absence from the Oxford copy (New Coll., 333) is inconclusive, that Ms. being mutilated at the end.

But the force of this objection is not such as to overpower all other considerations. Omission does not necessarily indicate intention to exclude: and the custom of the Church, by which the Apocalypse was passed over in lectionary systems, supplies a sufficient reason for leaving it out, in case of a Ms. meant for Church use, as was Add. 1700. Even among Greek Mss., as is well known, copies of the Apocalypse are not very numerous—about 180 in all; and in nearly 80 of the mss. where it is found it stands apart—usually (as in the case of the Syriac Add. 17127) accompanied only by a Commentary.

On the other hand, to counterbalance the negative evidence of Add. 1700, we have to set the fact (above noted) that Barsalibi, in his *Commentary* on the latter books of the New Testament, derives his text of the Four Epistles from the Harklensian, and his text of the Apocalypse from this version which is so evidently akin to the Harklensian. See, for this Commentary, the *Catal.* of R.-F. (p. 71, 7185 Rich); also *Hermathena*, xiv., p. 397 sqq.; xv., p. 137 sqq., where I have given some account of its contents.

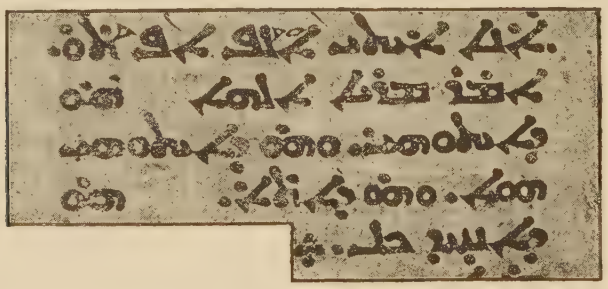
It is to be observed that this argument to shew that the Crawford Apocalypse is Philoxenian, and the other argument to shew that the printed Apocalypse is Harklensian, mutually strengthen and confirm one another. In each case, direct and independent internal reasons exist for believing that the translator of the Apocalypse is identical with the translator of the Four Epistles,—as I have stated above, under heads 4 and 5. We are not therefore reasoning in a circle when we assert that if the printed version is admitted to be Harklensian, the probability is increased that the Crawford version is Philoxenian; and *vice versa.*

Of the version which the Crawford Ms. has thus added to our stores of Syriac Biblical literature and to our authorities for the text of the Apocalypse, I have but to say in conclusion that when it is accessible, as I hope shortly to make it,* to Biblical scholars, it will be found well worthy of study. Though its readings are frequently unsupported by other authorities and no doubt aberrant, it is in the main an important accession to the number of early witnesses to the text of the book for which, of all the books of the New Testament, such witnesses are least numerous. Its merits as a translation stand high. Setting aside cases where it represents false readings of the Greek, its actual errors are few: I have noticed but one or two which seem due to the translator and not to copyists. Thus, it renders Ἀντίπας (ii. 13), ܐܢ[ܬ]ܝܠ ܟܠܝܠ (= ἀντὶ πάντων) as if it were a significant compound appellation and not a proper name; for κρύσταλλος (iv. 6, xxii. 1), it has ܟܠܝܠܐ (apparently taking it to mean *ice*); for ἀρχαῖος (xii. 9), ܪܝܫܝܐ (as if *chief*;—but xx. 2, ܩܕܡܝܐ correctly); and now and then (as xii. 11),† but not always, for διά with accusative, ܒܝܕ, *through.* On the other hand, it is free (as above noted) from the ludicrous misrendering of μεσουράνημα into which the later translator has fallen in seeking to improve upon his predecessor; and from another less gross one,—for κατάθεμα (xxii. 3), ܡܬܠܐ, *deciduous.* As regards its general tone and manner, we may justly claim for it

* The entire Syriac text is in type; and with preliminary and accompanying matter which is now in the press, will be published at an early date.

† In A. V. the same inaccuracy occurs here.

that it approaches the excellence of the Peshitto; and in point of force, directness, and dignity, that it gives worthy expression to the sublime imagery of the Apocalyptist. It has strength and freedom such as few translations attain; such, in fact, that (with the help of such examples as I have brought together in Appendix F) it would not be difficult to make out a plausible case for accepting it as the Aramaic original, or a close reproduction of an Aramaic original, of the Book. In it, far more fully than in the cramped and artificial diction of its reviser, the Aramaic idiom asserts its power to supply for the burden of the divine visions an utterance more adequate than could be found for them in the Greek which is their actual vehicle. From it, as a comparison of the two versions shows, the later one has borrowed the touches of simple majesty which ever and again raise it out of its usual level of painstaking and correctness: in it, I may almost venture to say, more perfectly than in the written Greek, we may read "the things which shall be hereafter", wellnigh in the form in which St. John first apprehended the divine word that came to him, and inwardly shaped into speech the revelation of "the Lord God, which is and which was and which is to come, the Almighty" (Rev. i. 8).



[In the following Appendices, S denotes the Crawford version; Σ, the version ordinarily printed in Syriac New Testaments.]

Appendix A.

The *DICTION* of S compared with that of Σ.

(*a*). Examples in which the rendering of S is more *idiomatic* than that of Σ; the former for the most part following the usage of the Peshitto, the latter that of the Harklensian and Hexaplar.

		S	Σ
i. 9,	*συγκοινωνὸς ὑμῶν*	ܚܒܪܟܘܢ	ܚܒܪܝܢ ܕܝܠܟܘܢ
i. 17, *et passim*,	*λέγων*	ܠܡܐܡܪ	ܕܐܡܪ
ii. 2, *et passim*,	*ἑαυτούς*	ܢܦܫܢ	ܦܫܝܢ ܠܢܦܫܢ
ii. 24, *et passim*,	*λοιποί*	ܕ ܫܪܝܪ [ܕ]	[ܕ] ܫܪܝܪ ܕ ܦܫܝܢ
ib., *et passim*,	*οἵτινες*	ܕ ܠܝܬ	ܕ ܠܝܬ ܐܝܢܘܢ
iii. 4, *et passim*,	*ἱμάτια*	ܠܒܫܐ	ܠܒܫܐ
iii. 7, *et passim*,	*οὐδείς*	ܠܝܬ ܕ	ܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ
iii. 10, xvi. 14,	*ἡ οἰκουμένη*	ܥܠܡܐ	ܡܬܬܒܠܬܐ
iv. 11, v. 9,	*ἄξιος εἶ*	ܫܘܝܐ	ܫܘܝܐ ܐܢܬ
vi. 10,	*κρίνεις*	ܕܝܢ	ܕܝܢ ܐܢܬ
xii. 2,	*ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα*	ܒܒܛܢܐ	ܕ ܒܒܛܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ
xii. 9, *et passim*,	*διάβολος*	ܣܛܢܐ	ܡܬܚܒܠܐ
xiv. 13, *et passim*,	*μακάριοι*	ܒܪܟܝܐ	ܒܪܟܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ
xvi. 21,	*σφόδρα*	ܣܓܝܐ	ܣܓܝܐ
xix. 21,	*τὰ ὄρνεα*	ܛܝܪܐ	ܥܘܦܐ

(*b*). Examples where S varies the rendering of a Greek word, so as to bring out *variation* of meaning: Σ not so.

ii. 14, διδαχή (= *teaching*)	ܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ*	ii. 15, 24, (= *doctrine*)	ܬܠܡܝܕ
vi. 14, *et passim*, τόπος (= *position, abode*)	ܐܬܪܐ*	xii. 8, xvi. 16, xx. 11, (= *space, region*)	ܐܬܪ
vii. 2, ix. 4, σφραγίς = seal (for *confirming*)	ܚܬܡܐ	v. 1, *et passim* (for *closing up*)	ܦܬܚ
xiii. 3, σφάζω (= to *wound*)	ܩܛ	v. 6, vi. 9, *et passim* (to *slay*)	ܩܛܠ, ܩܛܠ*
xiii. 6, xxi. 3, σκηνή (*divine* abode)	ܫܟܝܢܐ	xv. 5, (Mosaic *Tabernacle*)	ܡܫܟܢܐ*
xiv. 13, *et passim*, μακάριος (of *felicitation*)	ܒܪܟܐ, ܠ	xx. 6, (mere *predicate*)	ܒܪܟ

The renderings which I have marked with asterisks are given *uniformly* by Σ. For σφραγίς, it has ܚܬܡܐ, ix. 4, and (where it is unsuitable) v. 5, 9; but ܦܬܚ, v. 1, 2; vii. 2, and everywhere else. For μακάριος, see under (*a*) above.

In the two places where S has ܫܟܝܢܐ, it preserves the paronomasia (σκηνή, σκηνῶ), which Σ misses.

It may be added here that S, xi. 12 (but not 11), distinguishes θεωρῶ, = ܚܙܐ, from ܪܐܐ = ὁρῶ, βλέπω: Σ fails to do so.

(*c*). Instances in which S uses *rare* words or forms, not found in Σ, and seldom or never elsewhere.

ܡܚܐ for ܡܫܬܚܐ (v. 6 with obelus, xvi. 14); ܠܐ ܚܐ, = ἔχω, to *hold*, for ܠ ܚܐ, (xiii. 17 *et passim*); ܥܒ (in *peal*) = ἀδικοῦμαι (ii. 11); ܐܠܚ = ῥαντίζω, for ܐܠܫ, (xix. 13); ܡܦܫ = δεῖ (iv. 1 *et passim*); ܡܘܣܝܩܐ = μουσικά, an ingenious reproduction of the sound of the Greek, but formed regularly from ܐܝܡ, (xviii. 22); ܢܚ = ῥυπαρός (xxii. 11); ܥܒܕܐ = δειλός (xxi. 8).

(*d*). Words used in *stat. absol.* by S, where Σ uses *stat. emphat.*

ܡܠܐ (vii. 1); ܫܘܩܐ (vii. 9); ܐܬܪܐ (xiv. 20); ܢܚܡ (xii. 14); ܢܚܡ (xi. 4); ܫܒܥ (iv. 6); ܦܬܚ (vi. 1); ܡܩܛܠ (ii. 10);

ܬܫܥܐ (ix. 18); ܡܢܬܐ (i. 12); ܡܢܬܐ (xiii. 1); ܢܥܡܐ (xii. 3); ܫܢܐ (i. 10); ܫܢܐ (iii. 1); ܥܢܬܐ (vii. 4); ܡܢܚܐ (xii. 3).

Some of the above forms are very rare; *e.g.*, ܡܢܬܐ.

On the other hand, however, S has ܡܚܠܐ (xiv. 14; where Σ gives ܡܚܠܐ); and ܡܢܐ (xix. 9; Σ, ܡܢܬܐ).

(*e*). Instances of *stat. constr.* in S, where Σ avoids using it.

i. 18, ܚܠܡ ܚܠܡܐ; ii. 14, ܬܢ ܐܫܐܠܐ; ii. 27, ܬܐܢ ܦܫܐ; ii. 28, ܡܢܚ ܢܦܫܐ; vii. 2, ܬܪܥܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ; ix. 20, ܡܢܬ ܐܪܒܥܐ; xi. 18, ܪܒܠ ܐܡܝ; xiv. 6, ܐܢܐ ܬܠܬ; xvii. 14, ܡܠܟܐ ܬܠܬܐ; xviii. 17, ܡܪܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ; xviii. 22, ܐܢܐ ܡܢܐ; xxi. 20, ܟܠܐ ܪܒܝܥܐ; xxii. 15, ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܠܐ.

The following two instances are anomalous:—

xvii. 8, ܡܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܢܐ; xviii. 17, ܐܠܗ ܬܠܬܐ.

(*f*). Words idiomatically rendered in S, but in Σ transliterated or adopted from the Greek; as are most of them in Hkl. and Hxp., and some also in Psh.

ἄκρατον (xiv. 10),	ܠܐ ܡܒܠܠܐ	*λαμπάς* (iv. 5),	ܢܘܪܐ
Ἀπολύων (ix. 11),	ܐܒܕܢ	*ναύτης* (xviii. 17),	ܡܠܚܐ
γωνία (vii. 1),	ܙܘܝܬܐ	*ποδήρης* (i. 13),	ܪܓܠܐ
εὐαγγέλιον (xiv. 6),	ܒܫܪܬܐ	*πρόσωπον* (iv. 7),	ܦܐܪܐ
ζώνη (i. 13),	ܡܙܢܐ	*σαρδόνυξ* (xxi. 20),	ܣܪܕܘܢܝܟܐ
*θρόνος** (iv. 4),	ܟܘܪܣܝܐ	*τετράγωνος* [*-αγώνως*] (xxi. 16),	ܡܪܒܥܝܐ
κατήγορος, -ηγορῶ (xii. 10),	ܣܛܢܐ, ܡܫܬܛܢ	*φιάλη* (v. 8),	ܦܝܐܠܐ
κρύσταλλος (iv. 6),	ܒܠܘܪܐ	*χοῖνιξ* (vi. 6),	ܩܘܢܝܩܐ
[*πᾶς*] *κυβερνήτης* (xviii. 17),	[ܟܠ] ܡܪܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ	*χρυσόλιθος* (xxi. 20),	ܟܪܘܣܘܠܝܬܐ

But the following are adopted from the Greek in S as well as Σ:—
ἄψινθος, ἀψίνθιον (viii. 11); *διαθήκη, κιβωτός* (xi. 19); *στάδιον* (xiv. 20); *στολή* (vi. 11); *χρυσόπρασος* (xxi. 20).

* Where *θρόνος* occurs before iv. 6, Σ renders it as S.

Appendix B.

The *TEXTUAL EVIDENCE* of S and Σ severally.

(*a*). *Notable rival readings in which the two versions differ.*

The following list will show: (1°) that the versions are, in great measure, textually independent of each other; (2°) that S is, of the two, more frequently on the side of the weightier authorities. In each case I have marked with * the better attested reading, and have subjoined a brief summary of the evidence. It will be seen that in thirty-five out of the fifty-four instances collected, the asterisk stands in the S column.

[The notation I have used is as follows, in this and the following notes:

For the MSS: ℵ A C P as in Tischendorf, &c.; Q, Cod. Basileensis (Tischendorf's B).

For the mss: as in Tischendorf; and "most", "many", &c., mean "most mss", "many mss", &c.

For the Latin versions: *g*, cod. Gigas; *h*, cod. Floriacensis; *pr*, Primasius; *vt*, the consent of the foregoing Old Lat.; *am*, cod. Amiatinus; *arm*, cod. Armachanus; *cl*, Clementine text; *vg*, consent of chief authorities for Vulgate; latt, consent of *vt* and *vg*.†

For the copies of Σ: *n*, the Nitrian (Brit. Mus.); *l*, the Leyden (De Dieu's); *d*, the Dublin (Ussher's).]

	S	Σ
i. 9,	ἐν Ἰησοῦ* (ℵ C P, 38, *g*, *am*; A reads ἐν Χριστῷ).	ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ *or* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (Q and most, *h*, *pr*, *cl*).
ii. 5,	ἔρχομαί σοι* (ℵ A C P, *g*, *vg*).	ἔρχομαί σοι ταχύ (Q and most, *pr*).
,, 7,	τοῦ Θεοῦ* (ℵ A C P and some).	τοῦ Θεοῦ μου (Q and most, latt).
,, 9,	οἶδά σου* (A C P and few, latt).	οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα καί (ℵ Q and most).
,, 13,	οἶδα* (ℵ A C P, 38, latt).	οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου καί (Q and most).

† For *pr*, I follow Haussleiter's text (1891); for *h*, Berger's (1889); for *g*, Belsheim's (1879,—in a copy corrected by recollation with the original Ms, for the use of which I am indebted to Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury); for *am*, Tischendorf's (1850). I have given one or two readings of *arm*, from the Ms.

ii. 13,	τὴν πίστιν μου· καί* (A C, 91, *vg*).	τὴν πίστιν μου (ℵ P Q and most, *vt*).
ib.	ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις* (A C, *am*).	ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [ἐν] [τ]αῖς (ℵ P Q and most, *vt*, *cl*).
ib.	ὁ πιστός (ℵ P Q and most, latt).	ὁ πιστός μου* (A C and few).
,, 14,	φαγεῖν* (ℵ A C P and many, latt).	καὶ φαγεῖν (Q and most).
,, 16,	μετανόησον οὖν* (A C Q and many).	μετανόησον (ℵ P and many, latt).
,, 17,	[ἐκ]τοῦ μάννα* (ℵ A C Q and many, *vg*, *pr*).	φαγεῖν [ἐκ] τοῦ [τὸ] μάννα (P and many, *g*).
iii. 2,	ἔμελλες (Q and most).	ἔμελλον* (ℵ A C P, latt).
iv. 5,	ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου* (ℵ A P and few, latt).	ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ (Q and most).
,, 7,	ὡς ἀνθρώπου* (A and few, *vg*, *pr*; Q and most *om.* ὡς; ℵ differs; also *g*).	ὡς ἄνθρωπος (P and many).
,, 11,	ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν* (ℵ A P and some, latt).	ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος (Q and most).
v. 1,	ἔξωθεν (P Q and most, latt).	ὄπισθεν* (ℵ A and few).
,, 3,	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* (ℵ A P and many, latt).	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω (Q and many).
vi. 4,	ἵνα (Q and most).	καὶ ἵνα* (ℵ A C P and some, latt).
,, 5,	ἔρχου* (A C P and many, *g*, *am*).	ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε (ℵ Q and many, *pr*, *cl*).
ib.	καὶ ἰδού (Q and most, *g*, *cl*).	καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδού* (ℵ A C P and many, *am*; *pr*, καὶ εἶδον only).
,, 7,	ἤκουσα φωνήν* (ℵ A, *vg*).	ἤκουσα (C P Q and most, *vt*).
viii. 8,	καιόμενον (Q and most).	πυρὶ καιόμενον* (ℵ A P and many, latt).
ix. 2,	καὶ ἀνέβη (ℵ Q and most, *am*, *arm*, &c.).	καὶ ἤνοιξε τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου· καὶ ἀνέβη* (A P and many, *vt*, *cl*).
,, 10,	κέντρα ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν (most mss, *g*, *vg*; *h*, *pr*, ambiguous).	κέντρα· καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν* (ℵ A P Q and many).
ib.	ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν* (ℵ A P and some, latt).	ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν (Q and most).

ix. 12, 13,	δύο οὐαί· [καὶ] μετὰ ταῦτα [καὶ] (ℵ Q and many).	δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα· καί* (A P and many, latt).
,, 13,	τῶν τεσσάρων κεράτων (P Q and most, *pr*, *cl*).	τῶν κεράτων* (A and few, *g*, *am*).
x. 6,	ὅτι* (ℵ A and few, *vt*).	καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅτι (C P Q and most, *vg*).
xii. 14,	ὅπως τρέφηται (Q and most).	ὅπου τρέφεται* (ℵ A C P and some, latt).
,, 18,	ἐστάθην (P Q and most).	ἐστάθη* (ℵ A C and few, *g*, *vg*; *pr om.*).
xiv. 1,	μετ' αὐτοῦ* (ℵ A C P and many, latt).	μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀριθμός (Q and many).
,, 3,	ὡς ᾠδήν* (A C and some, *vg*).	ᾠδήν (ℵ P Q and most, *vt*).
,, 4,	οὗτοι οἱ* (ℵ A C P, 1, 38, *vg*).	οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ (Q and most, *pr*; *g* doubtful).
ib.	ὑπάγῃ (ℵ P Q and most, *g*, *vg*).	ὑπάγει* (A C, 36 &c., *pr*).
ib.	ἠγοράσθησαν* (ℵ A C P and some, latt).	ἠγοράσθησαν ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ (Q and most).
,, 18,	αὐτῆς* (ℵ A C P and many, latt).	τῆς γῆς (Q and most).
,, 19.	τὴν μεγάλην (ℵ and many).	τὸν μέγαν* (A C P Q and many, *pr*).
xv. 6,	ἐνδεδυμένοι* (ℵ A C P and many, latt).	οἳ ἦσαν ἐνδεδυμένοι (Q and most).
xvi. 3,	ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ (P Q and most; ℵ, ἐπὶ τῆς θ.).	τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ* (A C; 93, τῶν).
,, 8,	ὁ τέταρτος ἄγγελος (ℵ and many, *pr*, *cl*).	ὁ τέταρτος* (A C P Q and many, *g*, *am*).
,, 9,	ἐβλασφήμησαν* (ℵ A C P and few, latt).	εβλασφήμησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι (Q and most).
xvii. 4,	αὐτῆς (2nd)* (A and many, *vg*).	αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γῆς (ℵ; Q and most, *vt*, τῆς γῆς only; P *om.*).
,, 8,	τὰ ὀνόματα (ℵ P and many, latt).	τὸ ὄνομα* (A Q and most).
xviii. 14,	ὀπώρα σου* (ℵ A C P and few, *am*, *pr*).	ὀπώρα (Q and most, *g*, *cl*).
xix. 12,	ὄνομα γεγραμμένον* (A P and many, latt; ℵ, ὄνομα only).	ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα καὶ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ([*l* with asterisk] Q and most).
,, 15,	ὀξεῖα* (ℵ A P and some, *am*, *g*).	ὀξεῖα δίστομος ([*l* with asterisk] Q and most, *pr*, *cl*).

xx. 2,	ὁ σατανάς* (ℵ A and some, latt).	ὁ σατανᾶς ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην (Q and most).
xxi. 5,	ἀληθινοί* (ℵ A P and many, latt).	ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ (Q and many).
,, 6,	γέγοναν [-ασιν]* (A, 38; latt, γέγονε).	γέγονα (ℵ P Q and most).
,, 16,	σταδίων [-ους] δώδεκα χιλιάδων* (ℵ A P and many, latt).	σταδίων δώδεκα [καὶ] χιλιάδων δώδεκα (Q and many).
,, 24,	τὴν δόξαν [αὐτῶν]* (ℵ A P and many, *vt*).	τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τιμήν (Q and many, *vg*).
ib.	εἰς αὐτήν* (ℵ A P and many, latt).	τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς αὐτήν (Q and many).
xxii. 1,	καθαρὸν καὶ λαμπρόν (many mss [without καί]).	λαμπρόν* (all MSS and most mss, latt).
,, 3,	ἐκεῖ (many mss).	ἔτι* (A P Q and many, latt; ℵ *om.*).
,, 5,	ἐκεῖ (many mss).	ἔτι* (ℵ A P and many, latt; Q and many *om.*).

(*b*). *Readings in which* S *stands alone.*

[I record here only such variations as may reasonably be supposed to have been in the Greek whence S was derived. I pass over such as may be accounted for by oversight, loose rendering, or mistake, on the part of the translator; and such as are probably errors of transcription, especially omissions, or insertions, or confusions, of prefixes consisting of a single letter. The chief instances of blunders evidently due to the scribe are to be found collected in Appendix C.]

1. *Omissions.*

ii. 5, καὶ μετανόησον: *ib.*, ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς: ii. 26, ἄχρι τέλους: iii. 10, τῆς ὥρας: iii. 12, ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ: iii. 17, καὶ τυφλός: iii. 18, τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου: iii. 20, πρὸς αὐτόν: iv. 1, ἡ πρώτη: vi. 16, τοῦ καθημένου . . . . . τῆς ὀργῆς: vii. 11, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Θεῷ: vii. 17, ὁ Θεός: ix. 17, καὶ οὕτως . . . . τῇ ὁράσει: ix. 19, αἱ γὰρ οὐραὶ . . . . ἀδικοῦσι:

ix. 21, *οὔτε ἐκ τῶν κλεμμάτων αὐτῶν*: x. 1, *ἰσχυρόν*: x. 7, *τῆς φωνῆς*: x. 8, *ἠνεῳγμένον*: x. 9, *καὶ ἀπῆλθον .... λάβε*: *ib.*, *γλυκύ*: xi. 19, *τοῦ Θεοῦ*: xii. 6, *ἔκει*: xii. 10, *καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ*: *ib.*, *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν*: xii. 11, *αὐτόν*: xiii. 17, *δύνηται*: xiv. 8, *τοῦ οἴνου*: xiv. 9, *ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα [αὐτοῦ]*: xiv. 13, *τὰ γὰρ ἔργα .... μετ' αὐτῶν*: xiv. 15, *ὅτι ἐξηράνθη .... τῆς γῆς*: xiv. 17, *καὶ αὐτός*: xvi. 14, *ὅλης*: xvii. 1, *τῆς μεγάλης*: xvii. 5, *ὄνομα*: xviii. 7, *δότε αὐτῇ*: xviii. 13, *καὶ σῖτον*: *ib.*, *καὶ κτήνη*: xviii. 24, *καὶ πάντων*: xix. 5, *ἐξῆλθε*: xix. 10, *ὅρα*: xix. 15, *τοῦ οἴνου*: xx. 3, *ἄχρι ..... ἔτη*.

2. *Insertions.*

iii. 1, *ὅτι* before *νεκρός*: iv. 8, *ἐξ ὀνύχων αὐτοῦ καὶ* after *ἔχων*: vi. 2, *καὶ ἤκουσα* after *ἴδε*: vi. 9, *Ἰησοῦ* (without *Χριστοῦ*) after *μαρτυρίαν*: viii. 8, *ἐγένετο* before *ὡς*: x. 4, *τοῦ ἑβδόμου* after *οὐρανοῦ*: x. 5, *ὅς* before *ἦρε*: xi. 14, *ἰδού* before *ἡ [or αἱ] οὐαί*: xiii. 17, *ἔτι* after *πωλήσαι*: xvii. 1 *ὀπίσω μου* after *δεῦρο*: xvii. 11, *καὶ ὁ δράκων* before *καὶ τὸ θηρίον*: xvii. 17, *τούτῳ* after *τῷ θηρίῳ*: xviii. 8, *ἐπ'* before *αὐτῆς*: xviii. 14, *βλέψεις· καὶ αὐτά* after *αὐτά*: xix. 19, *καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτοῦ* after *τὸ θηρίον*: xxi. 21, *εἷς* before *ἀνὰ εἷς*: xxii. 16, *καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ* after *Δαυίδ*.

Also, on margin (ii. 23), *καὶ παιδεύσω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν*.

3. *Variations.*

ii. 25, *ὃ οὖν*, for *πλὴν ὅ*: iv. 8, *ἄνω*, for *ἀνά*: vi. 5, *ἠνοίγη ἡ σφραγὶς ἡ τρίτη*, for *ἤνοιξε τὴν .... τρίτην*: vi. 6, *ἐκ μέσου*, for *ἐν μέσῳ*: vi. 9, *τὰς ἐσφαγμένας*, for gen. masc.: vii. 17, *ζωὴν καὶ ἐπὶ*, for *ζωῆς or ζώσας*: viii. 11, *ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν τὰ ὕδατα*, for *ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν*: viii. 13, *τῆς φωνῆς*, for *τῶν λοιπῶν φωνῶν*: ix. 5, *πέσῃ ἐπ'*, for *παίσῃ*: xi. 6, *στρέφειν τὰ ὕδατα*, for *ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων στρέφειν αὐτά*: xi. 7 (xvii. 8), *θαλάσσης*, for *ἀβύσσου*: xi. 13, *ἄνθρωποι*, for *ἀνθρώπων*: xi. 14, *αἱ οὐαὶ αἱ δύο ἀπῆλθον*, for *ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἀπῆλθε*: xii. 12, *αὐτούς*, for *ὑμᾶς*: xiii. 6, *τῶν .... σκηνούντων*, for *αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς .... σκηνοῦντας*: xiii. 8, *οἱ οὐ γεγραμμένοι*, for *ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὰ ὀνόματα*: *ib.*, *πρό*, for *ἀπό*: xiii. 16, *δεσπότας*, for *ἐλευθέρους*: xiv. 3, *καί*, for *εἰ μή*: xiv. 10, *Κυρίου*, for *Θεοῦ*:

xiv. 20, ἐπί, for ἀπό: xv. 3, δίκαια καὶ ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα, for δίκαιαι . . . . αἱ ὁδοί: xvi. 3, θάλασσα ὡς νεκρός, for αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ:* xvii. 4, xviii. 16, κεχρυσωμένα, for fem. sing.: xviii. 18, ἔκλαυσαν αὐτήν, for ἔκραζον [or -ξαν]: xviii. 21, εὑρήσεις, for εὑρεθῇ: xviii. 22, κιθάρας, for κιθαρῳδῶν: xviii. 23, ἐπλάνησας, for 3rd pers. pl. pass.: xix. 5, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, for αὐτόν: xix. 15, αὐτῶν . . . . πατάξωσι, for sing.: xix. 16, ἐπὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς μηρούς, for ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν: xx. 3, λῦσαι, for λυθῆναι: xx. 9, τὴν πόλιν τῆς παρεμβολῆς, for τὴν παρεμβολήν: xx. 12, κρίσεως, for ζωῆς: xxi. 4, ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῆς. Καί, for ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα: xxi. 8, ἥ, for ὅ: xxi. 14, υἱοῦ, for ἀρνίου: xxi. 15, μέτρου κάλαμον, for μέτρον κάλαμον [*or* καλάμου]: xxi. 21, ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ, for διαυγης: xxi. 27, οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ, for οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν: *ib.*, τὰ γεγραμμένα, for masc.: xxii. 2, αὐτοῦ, for τοῦ ξύλου: xxii. 5, βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, for βασιλεύσουσιν.

4. *Mixed*, or *Conflate*, *readings*.

ii. 9, Ἰουδαίους Ἰουδαῖοι.

ii. 13, ἀντεῖπας [καὶ] ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός· ἀντίπας ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός.

iii. 2, ἔμελλες ἀποθανεῖν, for ἔμελλες ἀποβάλλειν, *or* ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν.

v. 10, βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ βασιλεῖς.

vi. 2, νικήτης καὶ νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ.

or νικῶν καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ.

xi. 11, πνεῦμα ζῶν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς . . . καὶ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἔπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

xviii. 17, πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων [?].†

xix. 19, καὶ εἶδον τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτοῦ· καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν.

Of these, vi. 2 (if the reading which stands first is accepted), and xi. 11, seem to be instances of double renderings rather than of conflation.

* But see in Appendices C, and F (*e*), below. † See in Appendix F.

(*c*). *Readings in which* S *has the support of some one, or very few of the weightiest authorities ;*—mostly against Σ,—but with it the instances specially noted.

i. 10, for σάλπιγγος λεγούσης : S reads accus., (with *h*, *pr*, Σ).
,, 11, ,, ὅ : ἅ, (38 &c., *pr*).
ib. ,, Σμύρναν : Ζμύρναν, (ℵ, *am*).
,, 15, ,, πεπυρωμένης [*or* -οι] : dat. sing., (ℵ, latt, Σ).
ii. 5, οὖν : *om.*, (*pr*).
,, 8, for Σμύρνῃ : gen., (A, latt).
,, 9, ,, ἐκ : τὴν ἐκ, (ℵ, Σ).
,, 13, ,, ὑμῖν : gen., (95).
,, 18, ,, τῆς : τῷ, (A, *pr*).
ib. after ὀφθαλμοὺς [*or* -όν] : *om.* αὐτοῦ, (36, 38, latt).
,, 20, προφῆτιν : *add* εἶναι, (ℵ).
iii. 3, οὖν (1st) : *om.*, (ℵ, 14, *vt*).
ib. for οὖν (2nd) : δέ, (36).
,, 5, ,, περιβαλεῖται : pres., (C, Σ).
,, 14, ἡ ἀρχή : *prefix* καί, (ℵ).
iv. 9, τῶν αἰώνων : *add* ἀμήν, (ℵ, 95).
v. 4, for οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό : καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ, (*pr*).
,, 5, τὰς σφραγίδας : *prefix* λῦσαι, (ℵ, latt).
,, 13, for ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης : ἐν with dat., (ℵ, latt, Σ).
vi. 8, ,, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος χλωρός : accus., and *om.* καὶ ἰδού, (*pr*).
vii. 1, ἀνέμους : *add* τῆς γῆς, (38, *cl*).
,, 2, for ἀνατολῆς : plur., (A)
,, 9, ,, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολύς : accus., and *om.* καὶ ἰδού, (A, latt except *g*).
viii. 2, for ἑστήκασι : plupf., (38, *g*, Σ).
,, 8, ἄγγελος : *om.*, (ℵ).
,, 9, for ψυχάς : sing., (ℵ).
,, 11, ,, εἰς : ὡς, (*h*, *pr*).
ix. 2, ,, μεγάλης *or* καιομένης : μεγάλης καιομένης, (36, 38, *g*).
,, 7, ,, τὰ ὁμοιώματα : sing., (*g*, Σ).
,, 11, ,, [ᾧ] ὄνομα αὐτῷ : ᾧ ὄνομα, (18, latt except *g*).
,, 12, 13, ,, δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα. Καὶ ὁ : δύο οὐαί. Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ, (ℵ).
,, 16, ,, μυριάδες : accus., (ℵ).
,, 17, ,, τῶν στομάτων : sing., (latt).
,, 18, ,, τῶν στομάτων : sing., (91, 95, latt).
x. 3, ,, τὰς . . . . φωνάς : dat., (ℵ, 7, *g*).
,, 5, τὴν δεξιάν : *om.*, (A, 1, 36, *vg*).
,, 8, for ἡ φωνὴ ἣν : φωνήν, (7, *vt*, *cl*).
xi. 2, ,, τὴν ἔξωθεν : τὴν ἔσωθεν, (ℵ, some).
,, 8, ,, τῆς πλατείας : plur., (*g*, *vg*).
,, 10, ,, χαίρουσιν : fut., (38, latt, Σ).
,, 12, ,, ἐθεώρησαν : impf., (38, 97).
,, 15, ,, Κυρίου : Θεοῦ, (28, *pr*).
,, 19, ναῷ αὐτοῦ : *om.* pron., (*arm*).
xii. 2, ὠδίνουσα : *prefix* καί, (A, Σ).
,, 4, for ἔστηκεν : plupf., (C, Σ).
,, 6, ,, ἔχει : impf., (38, *h*, *cl*, Σ).
,, 8, ,, αὐτῶν : dat., (36).
ib. ἔτι : *om.*, (7, 28, 79).

xii. 10, for ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ : ἐκ with gen., (95, *g*, *pr* [not *h*]).
xiii. 10, ,, [συνάγει] : ἀπάγει, (33, 35, *vt*, *cl*, Σ).
ib. ,, ἀποκτενεῖ : pres., (ℵ, 28, 35, 79, 95, *g*, Σ).
ib. ,, δεῖ αὐτὸν . . . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι : ἀποκτανθήσεται, (*g*).*
,, 14, ,, πλανᾷ : fut., (*am*, Σ).
ib. ,, ὅς : ὅ (*vg*).
,, 15, ἵνα καὶ . . . . τοῦ θηρίου : *om.*, (C, 14, 79, Σ *l*).
ib. for ποιήσῃ : fut., (14, 79).
,, 16, ,, ποιεῖ : fut., (*vg*, Σ).
,, 17, ,, τὸ ὄνομα : gen., (C, *arm* and some *vg*, Σ).
,, 18, καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ : *om.*, (ℵ).
xiv. 14, καὶ εἶδον : *om.*, (ℵ).
,, 19, for εἰς τὴν γῆν : ἐπί τὴν γῆν, (A, 38, 97).
xvi. 4, ,, ἐγένετο : plur., (ℵ, 36, 95, *vt*, Σ).
,, 12, ,, ἀνατολῆς : plur., (A, 1, 38, 79).
,, 15, ,, ἔρχομαι : 3rd pers., (ℵ, 38, 47, *pr*).
,, 16, ,, συνήγαγεν [*or* -ον] : fut., (*cl*).
xvii. 8, ,, ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον : ἐν with dat., (79, 95, latt).
,, 15, ,, λέγει : εἶπε, (A, latt except *g*, Σ).
,, 17, [μίαν] γνώμην : *add* αὐτῶν, (3 mss).

* Thus *g* alone supports S in *all* its notable readings in this verse.

xviii. 2, λέγων : *om.*, (P).
ib. καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς ὀρνέου ἀκαθάρτου : *om.*, (P, 1, 36, 38, 79).
,, 3, τοῦ θυμοῦ : *om.*, (*pr*).
ib. for πέπ[τ]ωκαν (*or* -κε) : πεπότικε, (36, 79).
,, 4, ,, τῶν πληγῶν : sing., (*g*).
,, 12, ,, λίθου[ς] τιμίου[ς] : gen. pl., (*pr*, Σ).
,, 14, ,, τῆς ἐπιθυμίας : nom., (*pr*).
ib. ,, ἀπώλετο : ἀπῆλθεν, (1, 79).
,, 17, ,, τὴν θάλασσαν : ἐν with dat., (*vt*, Σ).
,, 20, ,, εὐφραίνου : plur., (*pr*, Σ).
,, 22, καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης . . . . ἔτι : *om.*, (14, 92, Hippolytus).
ib. καὶ φωνὴ μύλου . . . . ἔτι : *om.*, (ℵ, 38, &c., Hippol.).
,, 23, φανῇ ἐν σοί : *om.* ἐν, (C, *vt*, *am*, &c.).
xix, 1, ὡς : *om.* (1, 38, &c., *vt*, Σ).
ib. for ὄχλου πολλοῦ : plur., (latt except *g*).
ib. ,, τοῦ Θεοῦ : dat., (36, 47, latt except *g*, Σ).
,, 2, ,, χειρός : plur., (latt except *g*).
,, 6, ,, ὄχλου πολλοῦ : plur., (*pr*).
ib. ὁ Θεός : *om.*, (*pr*).
,, 10, for προσκυνῆσαι : καὶ προσεκύνησα, (P, 79).
,, 12, φλόξ : *prefix* ὡς, (A, 36, 95, latt, Σ).
,, 14, for ἐνδεδυμένοι : dat., (ℵ, Origen.).
,, 17, for ἕνα : ἄλλον, (ℵ, 36).

xx. 1, for ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα : ἐν with dat., (ℵ, 38, latt, Σ).
,, 4, ,, τὴν χεῖρα : plur., (*vg*).
,, 6, ,, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ : dat., (38).
,, 11, ,, ἐπ' : ἐπάνω, (ℵ, 38, Σ).
xxi. 6, ,, γέγονα : 3rd pers. pl., (A [latt 3 p. sing.]).
,, 7, αὐτὸς ἔσται : *om.* pron., (A).
,, 12, ὀνόματα ; *add* αὐτῶν, (ℵ).
,, 14, δώδεκα ἀποστόλων : *om.* δώδεκα, (*am*).
xxi. 18, for χρυσίον καθαρόν : gen., (*pr*, *am*, Σ).
,, 21, ἀνὰ εἷς : *add* καί, (P, ? *vt*, *vg*).
ib. for χρυσίον καθαρόν : gen., (*pr*).
,, 27, τῆς ζωῆς : *om.*, (*pr*).
xxii. 5, for ἔχουσι : fut., (latt, Σ).
,, 12, ,, ὡς : κατά, (79, latt).
,, 17, ἐρχέσθω : *add* καί, (*cl*, Σ).
ib. ὁ θέλων : *om.*, (*g*).
,, 20, ἀμήν : *om.*, (latt).

v. 13, S arranges thus : Καὶ ἤκουσα λέγοντας τῷ καθημένῳ ..... ἀρνίῳ· Ἡ εὐλογία, καὶ . . . : (Q, *g* [?], *arm*).

(*d*). *Readings found in* S *and* Σ *alone*, against all or nearly all other authorities.

i. 9, after συγκοινωνός, *ins.* ὑμῶν.
,, 13, after μάστοις, *ins.* αὐτοῦ.
,, 19, for ἅ, ὅ.
iii. 9, before τῶν λεγόντων, *ins.* ἐκ.
iv. 1, for σάλπιγγος, accusat.
v. 11, for μυριάδες, χιλιάδες, sing.
viii. 7, for αἵματι, ὕδατι [*l n*]*.
,, 9, before τῶν κτισμάτων, *ins.* πάντων.
,, 13, for τοῦ σάλπιγγος, plur.
ix. 3, ἐξουσίαν, *om.*
x. 9, for σου τὴν κοιλίαν, σοι τὴν κοιλίαν σου.
xiii. 4, after θηρίῳ (3rd), *ins.* τούτῳ.
,, 16, for δῶσιν [*or* δώσῃ], δοθῇ.
xiii. 16, for τῆς χειρὸς . . . τῆς δεξιᾶς, plur.
xiv. 8, after ἠκολούθησεν, *ins.* αὐτῷ.
,, 9, after χάραγμα, *ins.* αὐτοῦ.
xv. 6, after στήθη, *ins.* αὐτῶν.
xvii. 9, for ὁ ἔχων, dat.
xviii. 13, for ἵππων καὶ ῥεδῶν καὶ σωμάτων, accusat.
,, 16, for λίθῳ τιμίῳ, plur.
xix. 19, for τοῦ στρατεύματος, plur.
xx. 4, for τῶν πεπελεκισμένων, accusative fem.
xxi. 3, for Θεὸς αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς Θεός.

See also the preceding note (*c*), in which will be found many readings which S and Σ have in common, with little or no *Greek* support.

* Σ *d* represents οὐρανῷ, prefixing a single letter to the word = ὕδατι, as read by *l n*.

Appendix C.

Errors of transcription in the Syriac text of S.

i. 16,	ܪܘܚܐ = πνεῦμα	for	ܪܘܡܦܐ = ῥομφαία
ii. 13,	ܐܦܝܬܐ = ὤφθης	,,	ܐܢܝܬܐ = ἀντεῖπας
,, 17,	ܐܝܬ = ἐστίν	,,	ܝܗܒ = δώσω
ib.	ܫܒܥܬܐ = φυλακήν	,,	ܫܥܬܐ = ψῆφον
iii. 17,	ܐܝܬ (1st) = εἶ	,,	ܐܝܬ = εἰμί
vi. 12,	ܪܝܫܐ = φῶς	,,	ܪܥܫܐ = σεισμός
ib.	ܪܘܚ = ἀσκός	,,	ܪܘܫ = σάκκος
,, 14,	ܐܬܦܪܝܬ = ἐτάκη	,,	ܐܬܦܪܫܬ = ἀπεχωρίσθη
ix. 11,	ܡܠܐܟܐ = ἄγγελος	,,	ܡܠܟܐ = βασιλεύς
x. 2,	ܐܢܬܪܟܝܢ = ἄνθρακες	,,	ܥܡܘܕܐ = στύλοι
,, 7,	ܠܐ (2nd) = οὐκ	,,	ܐܠܐ = ἀλλά
xi. 6,	ܬܦܝܢܘܬܐ = ταπεινῶσαι	,,	ܬܦܫܘܬܐ = πατάξαι
,, 19,	ܪܝܫܐ = πῦρ	,,	ܪܥܫܐ = σεισμός
xii. 1,	ܟܘܟܒܐ = ἀκανθῶν	,,	ܟܘܟܒܐ = ἀστέρων
,, 7,	ܬܢܝܢܝܐ = δευτέρου	,,	ܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܢ = καὶ ὁ δράκων
,, 10,	ܗܐ = ἰδού	,,	ܗܐܪܬܝ = ἄρτι
xiii. 2,	ܠܝܥܝܢܐ = λεαίνης	,,	ܠܝܥܘܢܐ = λεόντων
,, 3,	ܐܬܕܝܡܬ = ἀνήχθη	,,	ܐܬܕܝܡܬ = ἐθαυμάσθη*
,, 12,	ܢܦܠ = παρελεύσεται	,,	ܢܥܒܕ = ποιήσει
,, 14,	ܡܟܣܐ = καλύψει	,,	ܡܛܥܐ = πλανήσει
xvi. 1, xxi. 9,	ܐܚܪܝܢ = ἄλλας	,,	ܐܚܪܝܢ = ἐσχάτας
xv. 11,	ܢܦܩ = ἐπαύσαντο	,,	ܢܦܩ = μετενόησαν

* But see in Appendix F (*a*).

xvii. 12,	ܥܕܢܐ	= ἐνιαυτόν	for	ܥܕܢܐ	= ὥραν
,, 14,	ܢܨܚܘܢ	= ἀδικήσει	,,	ܢܨܚܘܢ	= νικήσει
,, 16,	ܢܦܩܕܘܢ	= ἐπισκέψονται	,,	ܢܫܬܡܫܘܢ	= μισήσουσι
xviii. 8,	ܡܘܬܐ	= πληγή	,,	ܡܘܬܐ	= θάνατος
xix. 9,	ܬܘܒ	= πάλιν	,,	ܟܬܘܒ	= γράψον
ib.	ܕܫܡܫܬܐ	= τῆς διακονίας	,,	ܕܚܬܢܐ	= τοῦ γάμου
,, 17,	ܐܬܟܢܫܘ	= καὶ συνήχθησαν	,,	ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܬܘ	= δεῦτε συνάχθητε
xx. 3,	ܢܬܠܗ	= ἔδωκε	,,	ܢܬܠܗ	= δεῖ
,, 6,	ܡܘܬܐ	= θάνατος	,,	ܡܢܬܐ	= μέρος

Perhaps we may add:

xvi. 3, ܕܡܐ ܕܝܡܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ = θάλασσα ὡς νεκρός, for ܕܡܐ ܕܝܡܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ = αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ.*

In ii. 13, ii. 17, xii. 7, the context has been editorially modified so as to make the erroneous reading yield an intelligible meaning.

Appendix D.

Instances of agreement between S and the "Pococke" Epistles; against Σ.

(*a*). *Against the Harklensian version* (*of these Epistles*):—

i. 9, 10 *et passim*, the possessive pronoun is expressed by suffix, as in Poc. *passim*, without ܕܠ.

,, 11, 19 *et passim*, the relative is expressed by ܕ ܐܠܝܗ, (and so in singular), as in Poc. *passim*, for ܕ [ܫܡܗ, ܫܡܗ] ܫܡܗ.

ii. 12 *et passim*, ܦܘܡܦܝܐ = ῥομφαία, 2 Pet. ii. 12 [= ἄλωσις], rare; for ܫܚܬܐ

,, 15, 24 (not 14, see Appx. A, *b*), ܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ = διδαχή, 2 Joh. 9 *bis*, 10; } ,, ܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ

* See in Appendix F (*e*).

vi. 4 (not i. 4; see Appx. E), ܫܠܡܐ = εἰρήνη, 2 Pet. i. 2, *et passim* in Poc.; also in Philox. *Esaias* (see above, p. 395, note). } for ܫܠܝܡ

xi. 5 (only), ܨܒܐ = θέλω, 3 Joh. 13; ,, ܨܒܝ

xii. 8, xvi. 16, xx. 11, } (not else; see Appx. A, *b*) ܐܬܪܐ = τόπος, 2 Pet. i. 19; ,, ܐܬܪܬܐ

xiv. 13, ܡܝܬ = ἀποθνήσκω, 2 Pet. i. 14, [ܡܝܬܐ = ἀπόθεσις (for θάνατος)]; } ,, ܡܘܬܐ

xviii. 12, *et passim* (except xvii. 4), ܝܩܝܪܐ = τίμιος, 2 Pet. i. 4 [ܝܩܪܐ is wrongly read in printed texts, see above, p. 397]; } ,, ܝܩܝܪܐ

It is not out of place to add here, as a notable point of coincidence,

xix. 10, ܠܐܝܬܝܠܗ = μᾶλλον, is interpolated, without countenance from any other authority, after ܠܐܠܗܐ ܣܓܕܘ (= τῷ Θεῷ προσκύνησον). So 3 Joh. 5, the same adverb is read in Poc. alone before ܠܐܓܢܐ (= ξένους).

(*b*). *With the Harklensian* (against its general usage elsewhere):—

i. 16, ܚܙܘܬܐ = ὄψις, 2 Pet. ii. 8 [= βλέμμα], rare; for ܚܙܘܬܐ

ii. 1, ܒܡܨܥܬܐ = ἐν μέσῳ, 2 Pet. ii. 8 [= ἐν]; ,, ܒܡܨܥܬܐ ܕ

xiii. 6, ܡܓܕܦ = βλασφημῶ, Jud. 10 [cp. 2 Pet. ii. 12]; (here only in S; once only in Psh. N.T.) } ,, ܡܓܕܦ ܠ

xviii. 14, ܦܪܝ = ὀπώρα, Jud. 12 [ܦܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܒܢܐ = φθινοπωρινά], rare; } ,, ܦܪܝ

xx. 10, ܡܛܥܢܐ = ὁ πλανῶν, 2 Joh. 7 *bis* [= πλάνος], Jud. 13 = [πλανήτης], rare; } ,, ܡܛܥܢܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ

xxii. 13, ܪܝܫܐ = ἀρχή, 2 Pet. iii. 4; 2 Joh. 5; 6; Jud. 4; (used in Hkl., elsewhere; but not habitually). } ,, ܪܝܫܝ

Appendix E.

Results of a comparison between S *and* Σ, *in the passage,* Rev. i. 1–8; (showing that this passage has been adopted into the Crawford Ms. of S, from a copy of Σ).

(A). As to *Diction* :—

i. Three verses, 1, 3, and 6, are absolutely identical.

ii. In the other five, only the following few and minute variations are to be found in S :—ver. 2, ܡܗܘܝܡܐ for ܐܗܘܝܡܐ : 4, *ins.* ܘ before ܡܢ ܩܕܡ : 5, ܐܝܕܐ for ܐܝܕܝ : *ib.* ܐܝܟ for ܐܝܟ : 7, *ins.* ܘ before ܐܦܝܢ : 8, *ins.* ܕ before ܡܪܝܐ.

iii. In the following points of agreement, the usage is that of Σ, and is contrary to that of S elsewhere :

a. The possessive pronoun is everywhere expressed by ܕܠ with suffix.

b. For the relative, ܕ ܐܠܝܢ [ܐܠܝܢ, ܐܠܝܢ] are uniformly used: S elsewhere usually ܕ ܐܠܝܢ.

c. (ver. 1), ܕܝ = δεῖ: S elsewhere always ܒܡܨܥ.

d. (ver. 3), ܐܝܟ ܡܒܪܟܐ = μακάριος (of felicitation): S elsewhere always ܠ ,ܡܒܪܟܐ.

e. (*ib.*) ܠ ܩܪܝܢܝܢ = ἀκούοντες [τοὺς λόγους]: S elsewhere prefixes ܠ to the object of this verb only where it denotes a *person.*

f. (*ib.*) ܕܝܢ ܐܝܢ = ὁ καιρός (and in other instances): S elsewhere avoids using personal pronoun for definite article.

g. (ver. 4), ܫܠܡܐ = εἰρήνη: S elsewhere always ܫܠܡܐ.

h. (*ib.*) ܕ ܐܝܟ is prefixed to each of the three members of the sentence (ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ . . . .): whereas in the parallel passages, iv. 8, xvi. 5 (cp. also xi. 17), S prefixes it only to the first.

i. (ver. 6), ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ = εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: S elsewhere always ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ.

j. (ver. 7), ܕܢܚܙܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ = οἵτινες: S elsewhere always ܕܢܚܙܘܢ.

(B). As to *underlying Text.*

a. None of the variations noted above (A, ii.) implies difference of text, except the two insertions of ܘ, verses 4 and 7; and these are probably due to the scribe of S, with whom this particular insertion is habitual.

b. The following readings, within these eight verses, have no extant Greek authority, and are peculiar or nearly so to S and Σ:

verse 3, *ins.* ταύτης (*vg* only).
,, 5, the participles in nominat. case, for dat.
,, 6, ἱερατικήν (or ἱεράν), for ἱερεῖς.
ib., ᾧ for αὐτῷ.
,, 7, ὄψονται πάντες ὀφθαλμοί, for sing.

Appendix F.

Variants in the text of the Apocalypse, suggestive of the *hypothesis of an Aramaic original.*

If anyone should be disposed to entertain the idea that the Apocalypse —the Book which of all the Books of the New Testament is unquestionably the most Aramaic in diction as well as in spirit, and which Vischer and Harnack maintain to be in the main a Jewish work,—may have been not only conceived by an Aramaic-speaking author, but actually written originally in some dialect of Aramaic, the following are examples of evidence from S adducible in support of such an hypothesis. It is at least as defensible as Widmanstad's belief that the Peshitto text gives the original of the Epistle to the Hebrews, or Cureton's claim that the version discovered by him exhibits the original of St. Matthew.

(*a*). xiii. 3. *ἐθαυμάσθη ὅλη ἡ γῆ ὀπίσω τοῦ θηρίου.*

Literally rendered, this would be in Syriac, ܐܬܕܟܪܬ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܚܪܝܬܗ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ. The expression, whether in Greek or in Syriac, is a forced and very strange one.

For ܐܬܕܟܪܬ, S has ܐܬܕܟܪܬ, = *ἀνήχθη* (as Psh., Mt. iv. 1), which gives a clear and natural reading. Thus the question is raised; May it not be that we have here a survival of the Aramaic original?—that ܐܬܕܟܪܬ reproduces the true reading, which having been misread ܐܬܕܟܪܬ by the Greek translator (by the easy substitution of ܟ for ܒ), became in his version *ἐθαυμάσθη*?

This explanation has the advantage of accounting for the use, else wellnigh unexampled, of the passive form *ἐθαυμάσθη* (for *ἐθαύμασεν*), which seems to be the true reading, attested by A, C [*ἐθαυμαστώθη*], and some good cursives (1, 36, 79, &c.), and adopted by Westcott and Hort, by Weiss, and also by Tregelles (though the last with the cursives reads wrongly *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ γῇ*). In rendering the *ethpaal* verb into Greek, the translator would naturally prefer the passive form, though its use in middle sense is very rare. So again, xvii. 8, Westcott and Hort read, with A and P, *θαυμασθήσονται* for *θαυμάσονται.*

(*b*). xv. 3. *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων.*

S and Σ adopt this reading (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ), in preference to the alternative *ὁ β. τῶν ἐθνῶν.* The former has few but weighty supporters (ℵ C and the good cursive 95, and *vg*): the latter attested by A P Q and nearly all the mss, and *vt.* Whichever reading is the true one, the variation is naturally accounted for if we suppose the original to have been Aramaic: for ܡܠܟܐ could readily pass into ܥܡܡܐ (= *ἐθνῶν*), or *vice versa.* This variation actually occurs in the text of the Pococke version of 2 Pet. ii. 1, where the printed text, following the Bodleian copy, reads ܒܥܠܡܐ (= *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*) for ܒܥܡܐ (*ἐν τῷ λαῷ*).

It may be, however, that the variation arose in the Greek, from an itacism. ΑΙΩΝΩΝ, written ΕΩΝΩΝ, would easily be mistaken for ΕΘΝΩΝ.

(*c*). xviii. 2. *καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου, καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς ὀρνέου ἀκαθάρτου.*

S (against Σ, but supported by P and the good cursives 36, 38, 79) gives only ܘܟܠܗ ܕܟܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܟܠ ܥܘܦܐ ܕܛܡܐ, omitting the latter half of the passage. It seems highly likely that S is right in the judgment which this omission implies—that we have here a double rendering, or rather a conflation. Nothing can be weaker than the repetition in the passage as it stands above: one half merely echoes the other, and one or other is probably spurious. But it seems also that S and its supporters have retained the wrong half. The double reading may well have originated thus. The original text gave only *καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς ὀρνέου ἀκαθάρτου.* On *ὀρνέου*, a note gave the gloss *πνεύματος*, which passing into the text produced the variant *καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου.* The combination of these two, then, resulted in the conflate reading as we have it.

But this substitution would be much more likely to occur in an Aramaic than in a Greek original. Between *ὀρνέου* and *πνεύματος* there is no resemblance to eye or ear; whereas in Syriac, ܪܘܚܐ (*πνεύματα*) and ܥܘܦܐ (*ὄρνεα*—lit., *πετεινά*) differ but by a letter. Thus ܪܘܚܐ written on the margin as a gloss would be more readily mistaken for a correction of ܥܘܦܐ and substituted for it in the text. I may add that, though in Σ ܟܠܗ stands for *ὀρνέου* in the second clause, in *l*, (the Leyden Ms.) ܥܘܦܐ is written by error for ܪܘܚܐ in the first; a mistake the exact counterpart of that which I have above supposed.

(*d*). xviii. 17. *πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων.*

This not very intelligible expression is attested by ℵ A C Q, and most mss and versions; but P and some mss read *τῶν πλοίων* for *τόπον.* S gives what at first sight seems a conflate reading, ܟܠ ܕܡܬܠܟ ܒܣܦܝܢܐ. But ܟܠ ܕܡܬܠܟ is probably only a periphrastic rendering (= "all that *go in ships*") of *πᾶς ὁ πλέων*, and thus S really represents the reading of the majority. The fact, however, that *πλέω* has no proper equivalent in Syriac suggests the possible existence of a prior Syriac text in which

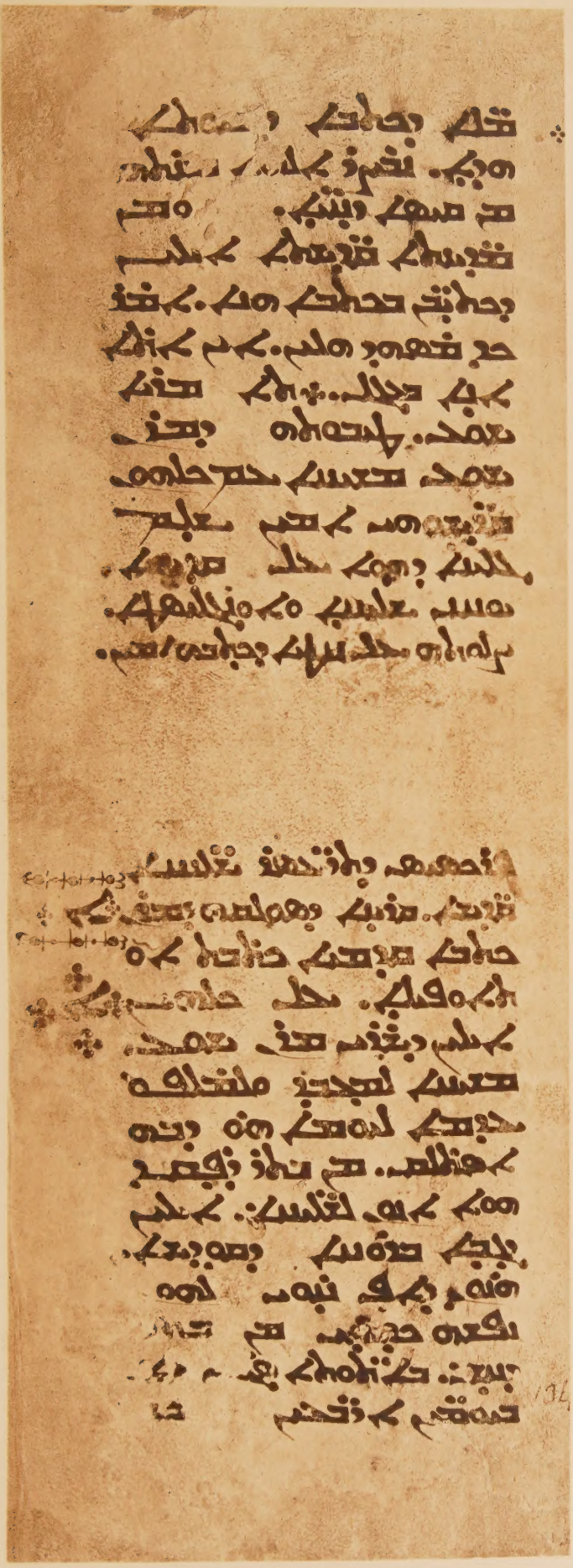
the reading was simply ܟܠ ܡܢܠܚܐ,—*i.e.*, "every *voyager*" (as distinguished from the "shipmaster", the "sailor", the "trader"). This, though really = πᾶς ὁ πλέων only, would lead to the seemingly more exact rendering πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων πλέων, which again would pass into the awkward πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων,—a reading which, though strongly supported, is in itself an improbable one.

To these may perhaps be added—

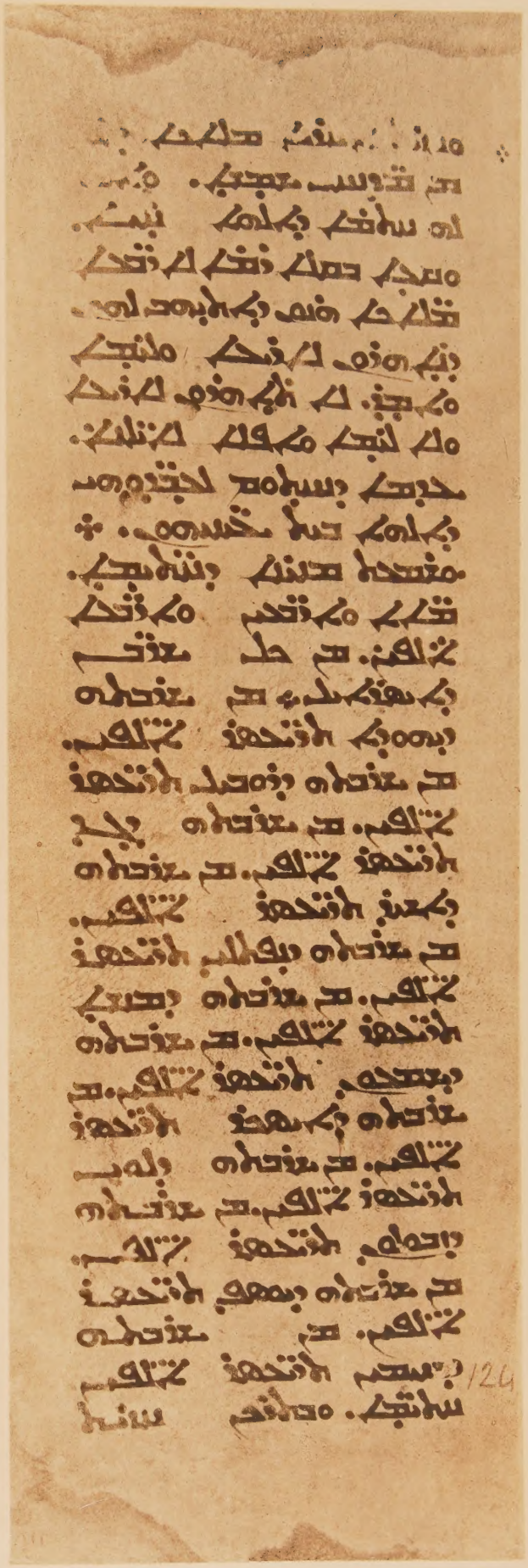
(*e*). xvi. 3. ἐγένετο αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ.

In this reading all authorities except S agree. According to it, when the second vial was poured out on the sea, "it became *blood as of a dead man*"; after which (ver. 4) the third vial was poured out on the rivers and fountains and "it became *blood*". Thus read, the description may be taken as expressing, though not distinctly or adequately, the contrast between (on the one hand) the sea turned into a standing pool of *dead* blood, foul and unfit to sustain animal life within it,—and (on the other) the streams and springs *flowing* with blood, to be the drink of the blood-shedder. But the former part of the contrast is surely given with far stronger vividness if we read with S, ἐγένετο ἡ θάλασσα ὡς νεκρός, "the sea became *as a dead man*". The image is even more terrible than "the very deep did rot" of the English poet;* the sea lies a corpse, no life to stir its tides or people its waters, in its stagnation dead and the abode of death. If then this be accepted as the true reading, it follows necessarily that the Syriac, ܕܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܩܛܠ, is the original, and that the Greek is but a rendering of a corruption of it, with ܪ substituted for ܕ in ܕܡܝܬܐ and a second ܪ prefixed to ܕܡܐ, so as to give the result ܕܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܛܠ, as in Σ.

* *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, pt. II.



Apoc. xxii. 19. Acts i. 3.



Apoc. vii. 2–9.